

National Civic Review

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March 1960

Volume XLIX, No. 3

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Richard Bigger and James D. Kitchen
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New Metro Solution



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News of the League

All-America Cities Hail Awards

Eleven cities from California to Puerto Rico were hailed last month by banner newspaper headlines, television and radio programs, flag raisings, parades and other celebrations when news of their winning the 1959 All-America Cities awards arrived.

San Juan, the third city outside the continental United States to win (Anchorage, Alaska, received a 1956 and Ketchikan, Alaska, a 1957 award), staged a parade and flag-raising ceremony; the "most colorful and well attended celebration of its kind ever held in Puerto Rico," followed by a reception at city hall for civic, government and business leaders. Local publicity on the community's achievements was reported to have exceeded the citizens' wildest expectations.

Street banners and a flag raising marked the celebration in Alton, Illinois. The city plans to herald its victory throughout the year with road signs, windshield stickers, street decorations, tourist brochures and parades.

President Eisenhower wired his congratulations to each of the winning cities, commenting that the award "is a real compliment to the strength of this community and to the work of its citizens."

Luncheons, banquets and other public gatherings were planned to receive framed certificates from representatives of the National Municipal League and *Look* Magazine, co-sponsors of the contest. Presentations scheduled are:

Alton, Illinois, March 5, by League Council Member Edwin D. Dodd, of Toledo;

De Soto, Missouri, March 3, by

Henry F. Chadeayne, director, Station KETC, St. Louis;

East St. Louis, Illinois, March 5, by Henry F. Chadeayne, director, Station KETC, St. Louis;

Fargo, North Dakota, February 25, by Lloyd Hale, League regional vice president, of Minneapolis;

Lamar, Colorado, February 22, by

(Continued on page 168)

City Manager Felisa Rincon de Gautier and Colonel Rafael Giménez de la Rosa, president of the Lions Club, with banner, reviewing All-America City parade in San Juan.

San Juan Star Photo by Gunter Hest



Gift Cuts League's Mortgage

The \$100,000 mortgage on the National Municipal League's building was reduced to \$75,000 in February by a contribution of \$25,000 from the trustees of The Cowles Charitable Trust, holder of the mortgage.

The gift, in the form of a credit against the mortgage, will satisfy the ten annual payments of \$2,500 on the principal which were to have commenced on February 1, 1965, it was pointed out by John F. Harding, trustee and secretary of the Trust.

The League purchased the building five years ago from the Trust, which was established in 1948 by Gardner Cowles, president of Cowles Magazines, Inc., and editor of *Look*.

Always a private residence until acquired by the League, the house was remodeled in 1955 to suit the organization's needs and has been used by many foreign visitors studying the American civic scene, as well as by writers, scholars and civic leaders seeking methods to improve local, county and state government.

At Milwaukee Meetings

Citizen participation in public affairs was discussed by Executive Director Alfred Willoughby at two Milwaukee meetings, one conducted by the Committee for Public Affairs of the McGraw-Edison Company, and the other a gathering of the Metropolitan Problems Committee of the Greater Milwaukee Committee for Community Development.

Spokane Hears Shefelman

League Council member Harold S. Shefelman, Seattle, was the principal speaker in February at the annual meeting of the Municipal League of Spokane.

Heads Department At Syracuse U

Guthrie S. Birkhead, first holder of the National Municipal League Staff Fellowship, has been appointed chairman of the Department of Political Science and director of the public administration programs of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University.

Dr. Birkhead, who held the fellowship in 1952-



Guthrie S. Birkhead

53, was the first of five political scientists to serve one year each with the League. Subsequently his activities have included the posts of director of research, United Nations Public Administration Institute for Turkey and the Middle East, consultant to the New York State comptroller, and associate director of the Delaware Valley Project. He has also served as advisor to state and city governments and local citizen groups.

Review on Microfilm

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Editorial Comment

The Proper Relations

ABOUT 200 years ago a great debate got under way in this land. That debate is still going on. It has to do with one of the basic issues of human government, namely, the proper relations between central and regional or local authorities.

Toward the end of the French and Indian Wars, the British imperial government, representing central authority, and the people of the colonies began to sharpen the differences between them with respect to the division of responsibilities for the government of British North America and the amount of independence of action that the several colonies should enjoy.

This controversy led to a civil war known as the War of the Revolution and the establishment of the United States of America as an independent nation. It did not, however, resolve the problem of central versus local authority. Within a few short years the tentative solution of a weak union under the Articles of Confederation was abandoned as a result of cooperative action among the states to produce "a more perfect union" under the constitution of 1787.

For a time it seemed that the normal operation of the national and state governments, within the spheres marked out for them by the constitution as interpreted by elected representatives and the Supreme Court, would be enough to maintain a healthy federal system, with sufficient power at the center to serve the national interest while the major burden of domestic government

would be carried by the states and the counties, cities, towns and villages which were their creatures.

Less than a hundred years after the debate began in earnest between the colonies and the mother country, it had again reached fever pitch within the American Union itself and led to a second civil war or "War between the States."

This war established the indestructibility and primacy of the Union as against the states and resulted in some new constitutional limitations on state power the full impact of which is yet to be determined.

This century was little more than a quarter over before the American experiment in federalism was subjected to a new, and in some respects the greatest, test of all. Economic depression on a national, indeed international, scale, in an economy increasingly interdependent because of technological and other changes, started the American polity on a search for ways to meet problems which had been either unknown or barely touched with governmental concern in earlier generations. In meeting these problems and the still greater problems of the Second World War and its aftermath, the scope and variety of responsibilities undertaken by the national government were vastly increased. Laments naturally were heard that this meant the virtual subversion of state and local self-government and abandonment of the design of a strong union maintained with limited national

power devised by the Founding Fathers. Yet, during the same period, except for the time of supreme concentration on the national effort during war, the activities in the field of domestic government carried on by states and their localities have increased in a most spectacular fashion—in recent years more rapidly than those of the national government.

* * *

The sheer magnitude of these developments led to a growing recognition that the simple prescriptions of the constitution are no longer enough to insure the continued orderly development or even the preservation of the essential integrity of the federal principle. The increasing complexity of the total problem of governing in the modern world enhances both the difficulty of and the need for sharing responsibility between the national government and vigorous, self-directing state and local governments. This realization led to the establishment in the first year of President Eisenhower's administration of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, which made the first official general reappraisal of the operation of the American federal system since 1787. This commission accepted the inevitability of most of the major changes that had come about in the relations between the various parts of the system but found great value in increased and more conscious effort to insure the continued capacity of both state and local governments to play responsible and creative

roles. This, the commission felt, was necessary both to provide dynamic government throughout the system and to avoid damaging concentration at the center.

The report of this commission happily stimulated further study and continuing appraisal of our system and of ways of improving its prospects for the future by the president, the Congress, state and local agencies, and many private organizations, including the National Municipal League. The commission itself recommended the establishment of a permanent agency at the national level to provide continuing attention to intergovernmental relations. It suggested that arrangements should be made to insure that national, state and local viewpoints were given adequate opportunity for expression. Such an agency was established last year by action of Congress and organized as the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations on December 8, 1959.¹

The REVIEW carries in this issue the statement made by Frank Bane, chairman of that commission, at its opening meeting. This statement places the commission in a context of 200 years of American history. If the commission takes the course suggested in that statement, it cannot fail to provide needed and enlightened guidance for the American people and for policy-makers at all levels in our complicated system of government.

¹ See the REVIEW, January 1960, page 27.

An Uncharted Sea

Intergovernmental relations advisory group approaches task with broad, thoughtful view.

By FRANK BANE*

THE Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations is an unusual agency and an innovation in government because, for the first time, representatives of all levels within our federal system and private citizens who have been associated with government are sitting together for the purpose of a continuing look at how we administer our public affairs. By its very nature this is and ought to be a deliberative body dedicated to fundamental research studies and analyses in depth of basic topics.

In a large sense we are the legatees of a vast heritage of knowledge and experience with the oldest functioning federal system in the world. The long hours and weeks given by the founding fathers to the formulation of our system have been added to immeasurably by the debates attending the adoption of the constitution, the acceptance of the first ten amendments or "Bill of Rights," almost two hundred years of Supreme Court decisions and deliberations and debates of the Congress, and the contributions of the executive branch.

* Mr. Bane, former secretary of the Governors' Conference and executive director of the Council of State Governments, has recently been appointed chairman of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations by President Eisenhower. Mr. Bane has held numerous federal appointments and is a contributor to various magazines in his field. This article is Mr. Bane's statement before the first meeting of the commission.

It seems to me, therefore, that we must be aware of and take account of this heritage if we are to appraise the future and to make recommendations and proposals for betterment in the years to come. Our federal system is one of both substance and emotion; it is one of clearly drawn lines and tradition; it is a government of laws but where people are paramount. Both the substance and the emotion are of great importance and they must be considered in our research and in our deliberations.

I think we will be successful here because of one really significant aspect of our heritage. In America the art of politics is the art of compromise. The matter of compromise was recognized by the constitutional convention which created our federal system and added a new dimension in political affairs which has served us in good stead over the decades. It is only through a rationalization of two extremes in a common agreement that bodies of this nature can be effective and perform the duties assigned to them.

Our approach to this major task might well be one of humility matched with enthusiasm and endeavor to get under way and become an effective and potent force for strengthening our federal system. To do this, however, it will be necessary to acquire an over-all objectivity to achieve the long range goal while

maintaining the respective rights of the proponents of a particular level or levels of government.

A great number of people expect us to do this job and to do it well. I need only mention the unusually enthusiastic testimony of practically every witness in favor of the enabling legislation, the overwhelming vote in both houses of the Congress and the creation of the commission by the chief executive, to underscore this point.

We do not have the time and we would not wish at this time to detail all of the subjects with which we will be concerned—they constitute a vast range of highly technical, constitutional, legal, fiscal and functional areas with pitfalls and perplexing questions awaiting us at every turn. I think we will find it helpful if we adopt two working general procedures:

- (1) The manifold possibilities for study, analysis and deliberation almost make it mandatory that we determine upon and adhere to a priority system for our projects;

- (2) The deciding factor in each case should be to keep our work manageable at all times so as to be within the capacities of our abilities to produce.

I believe these two procedures are essential because they will enable us to discharge our duties with the knowledge that we are proceeding toward stated goals and attainable results. In addition, I agree with our colleague, Congressman Fountain, and others who believe that the commission staff at the outset should be small but highly competent, until the role and value of the commission's

services can be ascertained. We are moving into a largely uncharted sea and we will have to make our own charts as we go along. This latter factor in itself is a real challenge to all of us.

I think we can proceed on a limited basis to begin with, because I know that organizations, both public and private, are willing and anxious to assist us in our efforts. There are many contributions that can be made from city hall, county courthouse, state capitols, the national capitol and federal agencies. Likewise, our institutions of higher learning, foundations and research organizations will be solicited for their views and technical and professional assistance. Also, the associations representing government generally and in particular can and will give us their advice and counsel.

* * *

May I tell you how much I admire those who were instrumental in pressing for and in setting up this commission, specifically Congressman Fountain of North Carolina and Congresswoman Dwyer of New Jersey and Senator Muskie of Maine, who introduced the legislation in both houses, who conducted the necessary hearings and, most importantly, pressed for its passage. Likewise, we are indebted to the President and the White House staff for establishing the commission on an active basis despite the tremendous pressure of international events and other grave problems.

In this latter connection, I have had the able assistance and complete cooperation of Robert Mer-

(Continued on page 149)

City Managers and Metro

What is effect of integration on activity, status of city administrators in a changing environment?

By RICHARD BIGGER AND JAMES D. KITCHEN*

MUCH talk is heard about the need for governmental integration in metropolitan areas. Almost as much effort is expended in research activities designed to produce detailed schemes for promoting this goal. Behind the tumult of talk and research the often overlooked fact is that integration is proceeding. By bits and pieces, by an occasional major step, almost surreptitiously at times, local policy-making and program operation are being widened to metropolitan bases.

The nature of the change may be seen by the way in which metropolitan forces and programs now often disturb and shape city government in even the best run council-manager city in a metropolitan area. Whether or not a city was ever truly free to arrive at policy decisions without considering its neighbors is doubtful but today it is obvious that choices open to a city are limited by actions and decisions in other political units within the metropolitan complex. No manager, however competent, however strongly supported by council or citizens, however strong-willed, is

really independent of what is done or not done by his neighbors.

An increasing number of functions have been removed from his specific direction and placed in the hands of some larger unit. Even those over which he and his city retain nominal control are shaped by outside forces. There is need for recognition of this altered situation of the city and the manager in the formulation of metropolitan governmental relationships.

There can be no serious question as to the need for a high level of competence in metropolitan government both in its emerging central units and in its older component parts. Financial management, personnel administration, organization and procedures studies—these and more must be carried on with technical skill and professional attitude. These have been abundantly supplied by a host of well trained able men, very often through the council-manager plan, who have lifted municipal management out of a morass of incompetence and personal favoritism.

But it has long been recognized that the neutrality of administrative "know-how" is not adequate for policy determination even in the large individual city and it is equally not enough for the metropolitan complex. There must also be responsiveness and responsibility in political "know-why." There must be ability

* Dr. Bigger and Dr. Kitchen are, respectively, professor and assistant professor of political science at San Diego State College. Dr. Bigger is associate director of the college's Public Affairs Research Institute, with which Dr. Kitchen is also associated. Both were formerly with the Bureau of Governmental Research at the University of California at Los Angeles and are authors of books and articles in the political science field.

to understand the values held by major elements of the megalopolis and willingness to use these values in establishing and supporting policy goals, even when these may do violence to administrative dogma. In short, there must be strong political leadership.

Can the average manager in the mold cast for him by his own profession meet the needs for such leadership in metropolitan units without destroying his administrative neutrality? Can he be a major policy initiator and opinion developer without reducing elected officials to a state of semi-comatose acquiescence? Conversely, dare he avoid responsibilities in these fields and hope to be successful in his administrative duties? Caught in this dilemma, would it be better for him to recognize the validity of Joseph Clark's recent comment that "Top leadership in American politics is never hired; it is always elected?"¹ Having recognized it, might his dilemma be solved not by a return to the discredited dichotomy of politics and administration but by a genuine support of elected political *leadership* in policy-making and the acceptance of a secondary policy role for himself?

From several standpoints, therefore, an important question is: What is the future role of city managers in metropolitan-wide units?

Managers have not shown wild bursts of enthusiasm for integration proposals. They are aware of administrative and political complications which arise as municipalities

draw artificial boundaries and jostle one another within a single population complex. Many recognize that the increasing stress has shown points of weakness in the present situation. Many, however, also evidence wide acceptance of current arrangements as the best that have yet been developed and caution us not to lose present good in a hasty movement toward uncertain gains. Some of this reluctance can be associated with a sense of professional pride in what has been accomplished, and doubt that proposals for change would bring benefits to the cities and the citizens or the managers. There has been a general hesitance on the part of managers and a desire to let the experimenting be done in someone else's backyard.

* * *

There are sound reasons why a manager as a professional might drag his feet on metropolitan reorganization. One of these is a fear that the professionalism of city management, cultivated and developed with such effort and devotion, might be adversely affected by creation of big regional government. The manager of an individual city today cannot ignore the actions and attitudes of neighbor cities but he is nonetheless *the* manager. He is responsible only to his council and free to make such operational decisions and policy recommendations as he deems appropriate.

He is a top executive officer, a member of an important growing profession. Removing large functional areas from his direct supervision or influence by giving their control to metropolitan units must

¹ "Notes on Political Leadership," *Harper's Magazine*, June 1958, page 29.

greatly reduce both the opportunity to achieve outstanding managerial success and the incentive to attempt it. Neither of these effects is conducive to a strengthened sense of professionalism. Furthermore, general professionalism in government, following in the wake of the manager in many cities, might also be adversely affected by any weakening of the system through development of metropolitan units.

Prestigewise, the job of manager might suffer under metropolitan government if his city, for example, became part of a federated municipality. The manager is one of the principal public leaders and news figures in his city, frequently overshadowing his elected bosses, the mayor and council. The position is challenging to young men debating future careers, offering psychological and material rewards for ability and work. Much of this challenge would be eliminated if the managership of an individual city were shut out from meaningful participation in many of the most important functional programs of metropolitan local government. He would no longer be a top manager but a subordinate figure at some indeterminate point in the hierarchy. Might not the caliber of entrants into the profession in metropolitan areas steadily decline except for those who become assistants at the significant metropolitan level?

As integration continues and more functions are administered centrally, there may arise serious questions as to the need for the continued existence of some smaller municipal units and equally sharp questioning about

the need for continuing the manager's job. Those cities which do continue may also wonder whether a city manager who does very little managing is really a professional and strong pressure for salary reduction may occur.

* * *

Proposals for metropolitan units may also run afoul of a related consideration: the home rule tradition in some states. The council-manager form has in the past been closely identified with small and middle-sized municipalities allied to strong home rule concepts. Managers as well as citizens talk of the "right of local self-determination" and the necessity of preserving grass roots government. This provides some ideological basis for opposition to larger municipal units and strengthens manager resistance to them. Such a view, however, may be unrealistic in its insistence that self-determination be applied on narrow bases to limited areas. Perhaps a more adequate concept of home rule today would encompass the whole metropolitan area as the level at which meaningful self-determination should operate.

It is interesting to note some ideas which managers emphasize when discussing metropolitan government. The "Metropolitan Municipal Bill of Rights," drawn up by Samuel Leask, Jr., chief administrative officer of Los Angeles, for the League of California Cities, is perhaps representative.² It stresses the federation of

² Not officially accepted by the League. An address presented at the League of California Cities Conference, Los Angeles, October 1958.

existing governmental units, with local officials serving as members of any new central agency. It is concerned with limiting central exercise of functional power "to those matters generally considered to be necessary to achieve improved area-wide administration in municipal affairs and for coping with future population growth," and declares that the individual city "shall reserve the right to administer its own strictly local affairs."

This is especially interesting in light of a previous statement that the actual performance of functions such as health services and police protection are "of strictly local concern." It further maintains that "the existing vast reservoir of experienced professional administrative talent should be utilized to advise and guide" in the task of working out detailed solutions to area-wide problems. This seems to indicate the fear of loss of the professional voice in metropolitan integration and administration.

This document and the philosophy behind it are illustrative of some of the problems inherent in the present attitude of city managers toward metropolitan integration. Its insistence on a number of guarantees would hamper flexibility of choice among alternative courses of action. It also indicates a predilection to look backward to the status quo, perhaps a rather normal reaction to a threatening change. There is adherence to the conventional idea of home rule, with little consideration of its possible inapplicability to a twentieth century metropolis. Under its terms, for example, the citizens

of an entire area would probably be precluded from determining for themselves that they want city-county consolidation or that they want a single metropolitan government with tax and service zones to fit areas of varying urbanization.

Existing governmental units seem to be conceived as perpetually viable, regardless of their present or future adequacy, and small population groups within separate political boundaries are presumably given some kind of continuing veto over the desires of the remainder of the metropolitan population. On the whole, these premises would very likely limit rather severely the avenues open to solve the problems of metropolitan government.

* * *

Two significant adaptations of the manager form to schemes of metropolitan government are in use in the United States today. One is in the Miami metropolitan area, the other is in Los Angeles County, and their geographic separation is equalled by their structural differences.

In the Miami situation, Dade County itself has formally become the over-all unit of government through county-wide adoption of a charter establishing a new governmental structure. Jurisdiction over certain functions in both incorporated and unincorporated portions of the county has been given to the new central government. Policy-making is lodged in an elected board of commissioners, chosen by the county at large, by districts, and by cities over 60,000, which presently means only Miami. This pattern provides a strong voice for urban sections and a

means for increasing representation from individual municipalities as they achieve the minimum population requirement. Administrative supervision and direction is delegated to a single officer, the county manager, who is appointed by the board and who occupies a position comparable to that of the traditional city manager.

All policy decisions and administrative control in functions of area-wide concern are exercised by these two agencies. Local municipalities retain their separate legal identity and separate elected officials until and unless by popular vote their citizens choose to merge with another city. Each city is free to choose the particular organizational form its citizens believe desirable. Even though the manager form is used, a question arises as to the scope of managerial authority in these circumstances. A broad area of activity has been defined as of metropolitan interest and thus beyond the policy and administrative jurisdiction of the individual council except as it may wish to supplement a basic operation.

Additionally, any other activity not carried on in a manner acceptable to the county board may unilaterally be removed from local control. This is an exclusive power of the elected county board but inevitably it will be exercised upon the recommendation of the appointed county manager. This means that even in those functional areas not declared to be specifically metropolitan in character, local policy-making must be carried on in the light of county-made standards. Even though the city retains its separate legal

status, its elected council operates within much narrower limits than before.

The same observation applies to the position of the appointed executive, the local city manager. The kind of management techniques, operational procedures and service standards which he uses will be determined with an eye to pleasing not only the local council and citizenry but also the county board and manager. What effect this may have upon the prestige and status of city managers in the metropolitan area is not yet determined.

* * *

The second major adaptation of the manager form to metropolitan government is known as the "Lake-wood Plan" from the city which pioneered its development in Los Angeles County. It is a plan for central performance of selected functions without major changes in the legal structure of local government. Cities enter into contractual relationships with the county or with county-administered special districts for the provision of specified functions at service levels desired by the municipality and at mutually acceptable charges.

There has been no structural reorganization of county government but rather an expansion of existing county departments. No new metropolitan council has been created. The five-member board of supervisors elected by districts continues to be the central organ of county government, without any specific representation from cities *per se*. Of course, urbanization of the entire area has reached such a stage that it

is the city voter who elects members of the county board but there is no specific commitment to an individual city. County administration is headed by an appointed chief administrative officer whose functions are similar to those of a county manager.

There are 62 cities in Los Angeles County (April 1959), 22 of them created since 1950. These new municipalities are of varied origin: totally new residential developments, old unincorporated communities with urban characteristics and new industrial or agricultural communities. All share one common goal—a desire to run their own affairs so as to preserve land use patterns and provide services on a locally determined basis. This desire fits well into California's strong home rule tradition.

What has developed is a voluntary relationship between many cities and the county whereby legal control over policy remains in the hands of a city council while actual operations are carried out by county personnel. The agreement is voluntary and either party may refuse to renew a contract upon proper notice. It is up to the city to decide the extent and level of services to be furnished it and to make policy on such matters as land use and planning. The county acts only as the operating agency to make effective local decisions.

Most of the new cities which have made use of the Lakewood Plan have also created the position of city manager or chief administrative officer, so that the framework of council-manager government exists. He is a manager with few subordi-

nates, however, as most operating personnel are county employees not directly responsible to the city's executive officer. Direction of departments, personnel procedures, budget controls—the normal stuff of a manager's daily work—are removed from his direct supervision. He might more properly be called a coordinator than a manager, one who serves as a go-between for county and city, for county department and local citizen, and one who aids the city council in its policy determination and contract negotiations. Again, a question as to how this affects the status and prestige of the profession seems to be in order.

* * *

Certain problems not directly connected with the manager's position also arise in the Lakewood Plan. One of these is the second step removal of operating staff from local citizens. This may well mean that line workers, supervisors and department heads are less responsive to local desires and complaints than would be the case if the city did not stand as a buffer between them. On the other side, while the city negotiates for the level and type of services which it wishes performed within its limits, there is inevitable pressure on the city to conform to county service standards.

What has been said does not indicate that the manager plan is unsuitable to metropolitan government. What it does mean is that the institution must adapt to new environmental circumstances and this adaptation may be difficult. Furthermore, its use in metropolitan govern-

ment is an extremely important method of insuring competent, professional administration. The manager plan has, at county and municipal levels, demonstrated its viability by its usefulness in Dade and Los Angeles Counties.

It seems likely that some appointed professional chief executive system can be utilized in almost every type of proposal for metropolitan governmental integration. The council-manager system, as generally conceived, could be used as the governmental structure for a completely unified metropolitan area. In those integrated metropolitan governments whose chief executive is a strong mayor, a subordinate chief administrative officer could be employed, as in the case of New York, New Orleans, Philadelphia and some other cities.

* * *

Some form of local federalism is the most popular concept for metropolitan reorganization. The council-manager system can fit in most easily here and already has in Dade County. In one way or another it can be used at the central level of government and may most certainly be operative in the local constituent units.

The council-manager form is not a perfect instrument for local government. Its problems, to some extent, would be magnified in its adaptation to the larger metropolitan

environment. A frequent criticism, as noted, is the failure of elected officials to provide political leadership and the burdening of the manager with this responsibility. The enlargement of jurisdiction in population and complexity of issues might well tend to make this problem more acute.

Whatever is done on metropolitan integration, there is likely to be change in the duties and in the conception of the role of managers for such areas. To the extent that functions are transferred to the central unit, managers of subordinate cities may suffer reduction in power and prestige. This in turn may reduce the attractiveness of the profession and indeed make it a different kind of profession.

There is a great amount of civic interest in many metropolitan areas in regional governmental integration. City managers and city officials have not been conspicuous leaders in this regard. Managers in particular need to be concerned with the problem; and their concepts and attitudes need to be flexible to give the soundest advice possible regarding integration. The professional in government can be extremely helpful in dealing with the problem. If managers do not concern themselves with the question, it may be that whatever adaptation of the council-manager system takes place will not be advantageous to the managers or to professional administration.

Win by Our Own Rules

Government must create an atmosphere conducive to growth; it cannot itself produce that growth.

By J. CAMERON THOMSON*

THE habit of growth is indigenous to America. It is part of "the American dream." The idea of corn growing taller than elsewhere in Iowa is warming to the hearts of Americans. And about people growing, too, not so much in size as in accomplishment. The legend of Horatio Alger besets us. To start from nothing and get somewhere—to do much with little—that is basic to the American way of thinking.

We have come far already. In 1919 the average factory employee worked 46 hours a week. Now he works only 40 hours but his income will buy twice as much in goods and services. We now produce five times as much in each hour of labor as our forebears did in 1880. And this despite the fact that the average American employee works only two-thirds of the time that he did then. The explanation is simply that machinery does more of the work. And machinery is capital, that bad word that even the Communists must honor in their own way. For Americans today have about ten horsepower at their command compared with one and a quarter in 1879. Net

investment in structures, equipment and inventories is now equal to about \$9,000 per worker.

As the Committee for Economic Development said in a recent national policy statement: "Family incomes in the United States averaging more than \$7,000 are not merely possible, they are likely within the next twenty years. . . . This would be net after payment of all taxes and in terms of the present [1958] buying power of the dollar."

But this won't just happen. We have to keep working and not lose sight of the American dream. Probably the most worrisome thing about Mr. Khrushchev's recent visit was the evangelical way in which he professed pride not only in what his country had done in the 40-odd years since its revolution but also in what it is yet to do. This is in contrast to the mood of America, which is a frightening sense of having arrived.

"We are there," says this too prevalent way of thinking. "We have come up the hard way, hewn a magnificent culture out of a continent rich in natural resources, flexed our muscles and produced the wealthiest and most productive society in history in only a bit more than a century and a half. We have arrived!"

This is dangerous thinking and dangerous talk. If we must look back, let us not look back at our small beginnings with that sort of

* Mr. Thomson, retired chairman of the board of the Northwest Bancorporation, is chairman of the Business-Education Subcommittee of the Committee for Economic Development. This article is Mr. Thomson's address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Springfield, Massachusetts, November 16, 1959.

braggadocio but let us look at the ruins of societies which in times past have succumbed to such smugness.

If we must look back let us look back to the greatest thing that has happened in this world in many a century—the American Revolution. We listen to Russians tell us about a revolution—what they have done under the impetus of revolutionary zeal. Where is our revolutionary spirit? Is the free society created by our ancestors a living thing? Do we really believe that an economy in which the vital economic decisions are made by over eight million farmers, businessmen and professional people is the best kind of society in the world? With hundreds of millions of the world's peoples having to choose between our kind of society and that of the Communists, do we have the conviction needed to demonstrate, preach and believe in the superiority of our system?

Growth is usually measured by the dollar value of the goods and services which the economy produces—the gross national product.

The Soviet rate of growth is probably 7 per cent per year. Our own is a little more than 3 per cent. With the Soviet gross national product about 40 per cent of ours, if our two growth rates continue the same, the USSR will match us in 25 to 30 years. But the Russian per capita income and standard of living will still be below ours. Nevertheless, if they do this, they and their system will become formidable competitors indeed. They will expect the uncommitted countries to become political and economic satellites. So, if we are interested in winning the war

of production, we must understand the principles and practices of our economic system which facilitate growth and use our influence to see that they are applied. If we don't understand our own system, we're licked before we start.

How, in our type of economy, has growth been achieved? It would be difficult to improve upon the following conclusion from a CED statement: The "universal drive to expansion in search of profit, animating each one of millions of economic teams, has undoubtedly been the great generating force for the cumulative economic growth that has taken place in the whole society."

* * *

This growth is the product of our free competitive economy which has permitted new enterprises to be formed and existing enterprises to grow and which has weeded out the socially useless or non-competitive operations. Supporting it also has been a phenomenal increase in the amount of capital goods available to each worker. From 1947 to 1956 our industry added approximately \$200 billion to its capital through retained earnings. Most of this was invested in new plant and equipment. Nor should we overlook population growth, which has more than tripled in the past 75 years and is expected to double present figures by the year 2000.

But behind all of this have been the men—the management and labor—with all their education, skills and abilities. People have cooperated and controlled the other elements in the process to bring about the aggregate growth measured by the 3 to

3½ per cent per year. They have profited from the ingenuity and devotion of scientists and inventors who have constantly improved organization, tools and product in the direction of higher productivity.

If we are really serious about increasing our rate of growth, we must increase our rate of investment and, if we are to increase our rate of investment without inflating the money supply by an undue expansion of commercial bank lending, we shall have to increase the rate of saving in the economy.

As I indicated earlier, the major source of new capital investment in our society (about 60 per cent) comes from retained earnings and depreciation funds accumulated by corporations to replace depreciated assets. We should remember that the earnings that can be retained for replacement and developmental purposes are the earnings left after payment of taxes. Thus taxes have a direct bearing upon our capacity for business growth and all citizens have an interest in seeing that government expenditures are kept to a sound minimum.

Surely a basic rule should be that government should not provide services which can be provided by private business. If government expenditures were reduced on a sound basis it would be possible to reduce our present 52 per cent corporate tax rate, and to revise individual income taxes, particularly in the higher brackets, to provide more incentive for investment. It would be desirable in any event to increase depreciation allowances so as to reflect more adequately actual replacement costs.

Whatever the method, we must strive for adequate incentives to attract savings to capital investment.

I would like to interject a word here about the relation of inflation to growth. It has been argued that to contain inflation will slow down our rate of growth, presumably because some people who want to borrow money will be denied the opportunity to do so under an anti-inflationary monetary policy.

Economic history does not support this position. The United States had one of its greatest and most sustained growth periods from 1873 to the end of the 19th century when its own price level was falling. A recent analysis of the experience of a number of countries showed that the greatest rate of growth occurred in the countries which had controlled inflation. Actually, inflation results from many causes—credit push, wage push, lack of productivity, excessive inventory accumulation and so on. Obviously, it takes more than monetary policy to control it. It requires a bit of self-discipline on the part of individuals and organizations to stop practices which induce inflation.

* * *

Robert B. Anderson, secretary of the treasury, has said: "We can choose sound government financial policies that will foster growth—not of the temporary, unsustainable type, but long-lasting and rewarding. Or we can choose the temporary expedient of excessive government spending and money creation during a period of strong business activity. Such practices can readily lead to inflation, which will ultimately dry up the flow

of genuine savings and lead to recession—the No. 1 enemy of growth. As has been proved in country after country, the road of currency depreciation leads inevitably to serious and long-lasting difficulties.”

It should suffice to cite France as a case in point. Paper money inflation in that country has been going on almost continuously since 1914 with eleven devaluations of the franc in 44 years. In that period the supply of paper and deposit money skyrocketed 632-fold. Here, then, is the picture which uncontrolled inflation invariably paints. It discourages sound investment and dampens incentives for the thrift that induces the saving so essential to growth. It is also unfair to people living on fixed income.

* * *

While new capital investment is probably the single most important source of increased growth, there are other important contributing factors. One is the avoidance of depression. Each depression costs us a certain amount of unemployment, both of people and of capacity, and so keeps us from producing as much as we might.

We can achieve still more growth by making everyone's work more efficient. This we do in large part when we make investments in new plant and equipment which adds to output per man-hour. But at the same time, we might be pursuing policies which serve to reduce man's output per man-hour below what it would otherwise be. We do this every time we insist upon denying people the right to buy where they can buy cheapest or to work with

the tools which make them the most productive.

Barriers to trade, whether among states, regions or countries, serve to reduce the value of output per person. Similarly, restraints upon production resulting from deliberate restrictions of farm productivity keep our national product below what it might otherwise be. It also raises our tax and food bills. And, of course, the traditional feather-bedding which is practiced on the railroads and in many other places is an interference with maximum productivity.

There is no question that we can have an increased rate of growth in the United States if we want it. People need only to be informed and to make the right decisions to get it. Improving our rate of growth is not an end in itself. Not only in the United States but in the uncommitted areas of the world, and indeed in the Soviet Union itself, it may well be that people would prefer to have more freedom rather than more growth if, as we believe, freedom facilitates achievement of maximum potentials. In making our choices about what we do to improve our rate of growth, I hope we will remember that freedom assists economic growth. Indeed nothing will do so much to aid our growth rate as elimination of the restraints on productivity now imposed by unions, by government and often by business itself.

With reference to government, if we are to continue to grow, and to grow faster, government should concern itself more with encouraging our free enterprise economy. It

should emphasize private utilities rather than public utilities.

Perhaps it must also find a new definition of competition, because the fact that an industry has a sole franchise does not necessarily mean it is a monopoly. There are, for example, many one-newspaper communities, but the one newspaper may get plenty of competition from radio and television and from newspapers published in other communities. And even with big business, which I am sure we all accept as a necessary and often exceptionally efficient part of our economy, the fact that it may appear to have a monopoly position often overlooks foreign competition and domestic competition from substitute products, such as paper competing with glass, synthetic fibers with natural fibers and so forth. The main thing is that we have to grow and government should do everything it can to foster growth through private competitive enterprise.

The world situation is tough and the national position as it relates to the larger orbit is even tougher, but our very preoccupation with these larger things—if not space itself—makes us lose sight of the fact that all things begin at the bottom, not at the top. In fact, the lower elements of growth may be so important that they should be uppermost in our thoughts. Local and regional problems may be more of a key to our future growth than might seem possible. And in this context we might also look back. As the philosopher said, "Past is prologue."

So we look back at our sprawling cities and their suburbs and what do we see? To put it in business-

men's language, we see deferred depreciation and obsolescence but so much of it that it's frightening. Until last year, when Baltimore opened its wonderful tunnel under the harbor, it took almost as much time to go through that city as it did to drive half the way from New York. Likewise, great improvements have been made for traffic in and around Boston.

But these things should have been done years ago. And they never do get done until the business people in a community forget about local political rivalries and take the leadership. Pittsburgh is an outstanding example. In Boston, a CED committee is making the first really scientific study of that community in history—an economic base study. And what is this? It is merely taking stock of a community's economic assets and liabilities. In my own community we have a Twin City Metropolitan Planning Commission which, by-passing intercity rivalry, is making real progress towards solving the massive problems which confront Minneapolis and St. Paul.

* * *

What, in general, do we find about these old cities? It is not only the phenomenal growth of our national population which has been plaguing them but also the fact that this population has been moving more and more into metropolitan areas. We have become an urbanized society. In 1770 only 5 per cent of our people lived in urban areas. By 1850 it was 15 per cent and by the turn of the century, 40 per cent. Now more than two-thirds of all Americans reside in urban areas.

But while the population moved into the big cities and their suburbs, the provision of new facilities for their accommodation barely kept pace. In many places it was way behind. To put what has been happening in terms a businessman might better understand, we have just been deferring depreciation until it haunts us. If management ran a corporation the way our older cities have been run, it would either be fired or bankrupt the business.

The big problem, of course, is how these bulging metropolitan areas are going to finance the services they have to supply. How to unclog their streets, how to keep through traffic moving over, under or around the central cities? How to provide fast, inexpensive mass transportation for workers and shoppers? How to keep green spots for beauty and adequate recreation areas for the youngsters who seem to be getting into more and more trouble these days? But if people want these improvements they are going to have to pay for them. The question is, how?

Some people have an easy answer—let the federal government pay the bills. But this isn't an answer at all. The federal government is already contributing about 10 per cent of all state and local revenues. With the federal budget unlikely to get out of its present precarious state for some time to come, this is obviously not the place to look for more assistance. Federal aid to states and localities is already \$6.7 billion, which is 168 per cent more than ten years ago.

Some argue that since the federal government has preempted the most

lucrative tax sources, it should turn some back to the states. But of the \$11 billion of federal revenues from selective excises, for example, only about \$550 million come from sources that are usually recommended for diversion to state and local governments. Even if the states and localities took all federal revenues from estate and gift taxes they would get only \$1.5 billion. These sums are insignificant compared to the revenue needs of the smaller units of government.

* * *

The only answer is for the states and localities to make better use of the tax resources they already have. These are income, sales and property taxes, but it is the latter which causes most of the trouble at the local level. Property taxes, the main source of local revenues, must be better administered. In Minnesota, for example, manufacturers regarded the property tax as a real disadvantage to industrial location there not only because of the high level of the tax but also because its poor administration makes for inequities and uncertainties. There is no doubt that modernization of property tax administration is the most urgent need in this field. This involves getting full-time professional assessors and an honest reappraisal of property values. Assessment on a uniform basis using current market values is an essential reform that will bring equity into what is now a highly distorted and unfair situation. It will also bring more revenue.

Just as there is no magic that will produce needed support for the

(Continued on page 149)

News in Review

City, State and Nation

H. M. Olmsted, Editor

New York City Undergoes Probe

State Commission Assays Weaknesses

THE State Commission on Government Operations of the City of New York, established in April 1959 by Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller and the New York State legislature, submitted an interim report on February 1, 1960, pointing out weaknesses in the organization and operation of the city government and suggesting a number of general and specific changes. The general suggestions include charter changes, which will be subject to further study and detailed presentation. The specific suggestions relate chiefly to financial matters.

The commission—sometimes called a Little Hoover Commission—was headed by General Otto L. Nelson, Jr., a vice president of the New York Life Insurance Company in charge of its large-scale housing operations.¹ Two other members—Frank C. Moore and Seymour Graubard—were also appointed by Governor Rockefeller; four were appointed by leaders of the legislature and two by Mayor Robert F. Wagner, Jr.—Luther H. Gulick, former city administrator, and Simon H. Rifkind, former federal district judge.²

¹ General Nelson resigned as head of the commission shortly after the report was issued. Frank C. Moore, former state comptroller and lieutenant governor and now head of the Government Affairs Foundation, was appointed acting chairman by Governor Rockefeller.

² The report does not indicate whether any member of the commission dissented to the report, but Judge Rifkind is reported in the press as disagreeing, at least in part, especially as to a statement

The governor and the legislative majority are Republican; the city administration is Democratic.

McKinsey and Company, management consultants, were engaged to assist the commission in its initial survey. Conferences and public hearings have been held, at which public officials and representatives of civic associations have appeared, and proceedings to investigate specific instances of possible mismanagement or improper conduct have been conducted. A considerable research staff is making specific studies. The commission's final report is due not later than February 1, 1961. It "will indicate what the state should do, what new provisions the charter should contain and for what part of the program the city itself, and its officials, must accept responsibility."

The interim report summarizes nine major weaknesses in the structure and operations of the city's government, as indicated by preliminary studies:

1. The city charter does not provide for a strong, responsible chief executive. Everything is brought to the door of the mayor but he is not given enough power so that the citizens can justifiably hold him fully responsible for what happens—or does not happen. Instead, the executive power is divided into pieces and important segments are given to the board of estimate (composed of the mayor, comptroller, council president and borough presidents).

2. The city does not have a comprehensive and detached fiscal audit. The office of the comptroller, which is in-

that "the existing government of the City of New York, taken as a whole, does not manifest the appetite, willingness or capacity to initiate or carry out the major substantial changes in governmental machinery and operations which are required."

tended for this purpose, has so many other administrative and legislative duties that it is constantly being entangled in alliances. The beneficial effects of the comptroller's work even under this unbusinesslike system shows what could be accomplished with regard to economy and honesty if a modern independent audit system were established in the city.

3. The city does not have a strong legislative body designed to keep a rein on the executive, pass appropriations, establish taxes, exercise the representative function, investigate scandals and protect the citizen and his interests. Instead, it has a weak but highly paid city council. The real local representative function is performed by the executive-legislative-political borough presidents.

4. The existing city structure and the caucus methods of operation of the multi-function board of estimate destroy responsibility, encourage "buck-passing" and a fictional budget, and are ideally suited for borough political fixers.

5. The justification by the borough presidents for the borough president's office and its present functions is that it is the defender of the local democratic interests of the borough. However, most of the time, this office functions as the chief agency for supporting the borough political machines, especially district leaders and their henchmen. A genuine legislative body is a better protection for the real interests of the local borough, if properly set up and empowered for this purpose.

6. The city's system is wasteful and ultra-political. Appropriations are adopted, changed at will and administered throughout the year by a small group of men who are at the same time the authorizers and spenders.

7. The city has an antiquated budget system, without a fixed current budget, real long-range integrated fiscal planning, a real capital budget and departmental incentives for efficiency and economy.

8. While distinct progress has been made in personnel administration, the system itself does not make for efficiency, economy and high productivity, and favors security, automatic salary increases and very liberal pension arrangements.

9. There is something vitally wrong with the extent and quality of citizen participation in the city's government. The present confusion of executive and legislative functions and the secrecy in making top decisions tend to discourage such participation.

* * *

Noting that with an annual expense budget of over \$2 billion, investments of more than \$3 billion and a debt of over \$4 billion, "New York City has a job of financial management that is much bigger than that of any other city and bigger than that of most of the states," the report emphasizes that a highly important and somewhat technical part of this job has to do with cash management, investment management and debt management.³

The over-all savings from improved financial management are estimated by the commission at \$8 to \$11 million the first year, with such substantial increases thereafter that the total saving over ten years could be from \$295 to \$382 million and over 30 years from \$2,064 to \$2,541 million.

The city administration has charged the commission with playing politics, particularly in view of the impending city election in 1961. Mayor Wagner asserted that the city has adopted numerous administrative reforms, especially in recent years, and has been blocked by the state legislature from achieving real fiscal responsibility. He has long been in favor of charter reform. Comptroller Lawrence Gerosa assailed the commission's financial proposals as impractical and unrealistic, with off-setting costs not taken adequately into account.

³ See also page 154, this issue.

Charter Study Group Named By New York City Mayor

Following the issuance of the interim report of the State Commission on Government Operations of the City of New York, Mayor Robert F. Wagner announced the appointment of a group assigned the task of revising the city charter. They are the following members of his administration: William Reid, chairman of the City Housing Authority; Paul R. Screvane, sanitation commissioner; Abraham D. Beame, budget director; Jacob Lutsky, legal aid to the mayor; Paul T. O'Keefe, deputy mayor; Maxwell Lehman, deputy city administrator; Leo A. Larkin, assistant corporation counsel; Francis J. Bloustein, vice chairman, City Planning Commission. They are to be largely relieved of their regular duties, with the objective of preparing the new charter in four months, in time for submission to the voters of the city in November. This would be well in advance of the February 1, 1961, deadline for the final report of the state commission, which is expected to recommend many charter changes.

A proposal for a nine-member charter revision commission was submitted by Mayor Wagner over a year ago to the city council, which has taken no action.

The work group's recommendations must be approved by the city council and the board of estimate before being placed on the ballot. Mayor Wagner expressed the belief that because of their familiarity with the city government the group could accomplish the task in time, including the holding of "open discussions with public groups."

Council-Manager Plan Developments

The International City Managers' Association has published a list of 96 municipalities which it added last year to its directory of council-manager com-

munities. Included therein are the following 22 not previously mentioned in the REVIEW as having council-manager government:

AUBURN, NORWALK and TURLOCK, CALIFORNIA; RANGELY, COLORADO; COCOA BEACH, RIVIERA BEACH and SOUTH BAY, FLORIDA; GRAND RAPIDS, MINNESOTA; DUFONTONIA, FAIRVIEW, MAYNARDVILLE, RAMER and ST. JOSEPH, TENNESSEE; MCLEAN, SPEARMAN and WEATHERFORD, TEXAS; DES MOINES, WASHINGTON; DRAYTON VALLEY, ALBERTA, CANADA; BUCKINGHAM, CHIBOUGAMAU, KENOGAMI and PIERREFONDS, QUEBEC, CANADA. These range in population from approximately 10,000 down to a few hundred.

At a recent special town meeting in OLD ORCHARD BEACH, MAINE, the citizens voted 133 to 95 to retain the town manager plan, in effect since 1950.

PARIS, MAINE, expects to vote at the regular 1960 town meeting on the question of adopting the town manager plan, the favorable vote in 1959 to adopt the plan effective in March 1960 having been voided on a technicality.

A petition has been filed in AMHERST, MASSACHUSETTS, to revoke the town manager plan, in effect since 1954.

Petitions in opposition to the town manager plan have been circulated in WILLIAMSTOWN, MASSACHUSETTS, where the plan took effect in 1957.

The Charter Study Commission of the town of SOUTH WINDSOR, CONNECTICUT, recommends the council-manager plan with a council of nine, in which the minority party would have at least three seats.

Mayor Fred B. Dorner of CROTON-ON-HUDSON, NEW YORK, has appointed a committee to study the feasibility of council-manager government of the village, as pledged by candidates of both parties at the village election last spring.

A committee of the council of the borough of JIM THORPE, PENNSYLVANIA,

is scheduled to study the question of employing a borough manager.

The new council of the borough of MONACA, PENNSYLVANIA, has acted to abolish the office of borough manager, instituted in 1956.

The council-manager plan has been unanimously endorsed for CLINTON, SOUTH CAROLINA, by the Chamber of Commerce, in a resolution introduced by a joint committee composed of the chamber's public affairs committee and representatives of Clinton service clubs.

A committee has been appointed by the city council of SMYRNA (Cobb County), GEORGIA, to draft a council-manager government bill to be sent to the state legislature.

The charter commission of WARREN, OHIO, has drafted a council-manager charter, to be presented to the electorate in the latter part of March. The Community Interest Council is actively supporting it, with a city-wide educational campaign.

In DOTHAN, ALABAMA, which adopted the council-manager plan in 1958, Mayor Earle Moody, although stating that he favors the plan, recommends a referendum thereon in view of criticisms.

A council-manager charter is being prepared in the village of HIBBING, MINNESOTA, which would thereby become a city.

The villages of BLOOMINGTON and CRYSTAL, MINNESOTA, have city-type council-manager charters in preparation. Bloomington adopted the state optional village council-manager law in 1955.

A movement in CAMERON, MISSOURI, to abandon the council-manager plan adopted in 1949 has been defeated. The local newspaper put out an extra edition to answer a last-ditch move by manager opponents in putting out an anonymous circular just before the election. The only other extra edition of the newspaper was 66 years ago, when a Cameron city marshal was murdered.

The possibility of employment of a city

manager in LIBERTY, MISSOURI, has been discussed by the city council, with four of the five members asserting the need for a professionally trained man to help guide the city's development.

Council-manager charters have been drafted in CORDOVA, JUNEAU and KETCHIKAN, ALASKA, with the assistance in each case of Charles F. Spencer, president of East Central State College, Ada, Oklahoma, author of many city charters.

Tulsa Defeats Strong Mayor Charter

It was incorrectly reported in the December REVIEW, at page 582, that Tulsa, Oklahoma, approved a strong-mayor charter. Instead, the charter proposal was defeated, 20,679 to 15,424, on October 20, 1959. Tulsa also defeated a council-manager proposal in 1955 by a vote of 24,846 to 15,488. It operates under the commission plan.

Cleveland Council Meeting Put on Television

The organizational meeting of the Cleveland city council in January furnished the basis for a video-taped television program on KYW-TV the following Sunday, 3:30 to 4:30 P.M. The meeting was featured by a political battle over the election of a council president. It was the first televising of the council.

Three inconspicuous cameras were placed on platforms at key spots around the council chamber. The session was taped so that uninteresting and unimportant portions could be edited out and the main events formed into a concise, fast-paced program.

Thad Fusco, clerk of the council, expressed the opinion that the "telecast was extremely valuable in informing Cleveland citizens about their government." Newspaper comment was also favorable. It is expected that other meetings will be similarly televised when there is an important issue up for discussion.

KYW Radio has included a half-hour segment of highlights from the council meeting each week in its "Program P.M." for the past two years and will continue to do so during 1960.

'Western City' Expands Coverage

The boards of directors of the municipal leagues or associations of five mountain states in the west have adopted *Western City* as their official magazine, thus bringing to eleven the number of state leagues the publication serves. Published by the League of California Cities in the interest of that and other western leagues of cities for the last 30 years, *Western City* has long served the California, Oregon and Washington leagues, and more recently those of Arizona (1942) Nevada (1950) and Alaska (1951). The new members of its family are the Idaho, Montana, New Mexico and Utah Municipal Leagues and the Wyoming Association of Municipalities.

Hawaii Establishes State Organization

The first state legislature of Hawaii, in two special sessions last fall, completed the major task of organizing the state's executive-administrative branch into eighteen departments, thus complying with the constitutional requirement of not more than twenty departments. The legislation, as signed by Governor William F. Quinn, provides for the following departments:

Planning and research, personnel services, accounting and general services, attorney general, budget and review, treasury and regulation, social services, economic development, transportation, labor, defense, taxation, health, education, agriculture and conservation, lands and natural resources, Hawaii home lands and the University of Hawaii. All but the last are styled departments and

all but the last five are to be headed by individual cabinet members.

As reported in *State Government News*, the reorganization was scheduled to become effective, in part, on February 17, the first day of the 1960 regular legislative session, and to be completed by the tenth day of the regular 1961 session. The governor was directed to appoint department heads and assign department functions by the earlier date, with allowance for postponing action on any department until July 1, 1960, if technical or legal difficulties necessitate delay. In the cases of the University and the Department of Planning and Research, action may be delayed until the 1961 date if legally necessary to permit present officers to hold their positions.

The governor is also directed to proceed with the internal organization of departments and submit implementing bills to the 1960 and 1961 regular legislative sessions. The budget for the 1960-61 fiscal year is to be prepared according to the new organization.

The bill also creates the office of administrative director and provides for the elected lieutenant governor to assume the functions of the former territorial secretary of state.

Other bills passed at the first special session set up fiscal procedures, created the post of legislative auditor, prescribed annual legislative sessions, established machinery for presidential elections and the method of placing political parties on election ballots, and provided for filling vacancies in the legislature and the federal House of Representatives.

Georgia Reorganization Commission Reports

A final report has been issued in Georgia by the Governor's Commission on Economy and Reorganization¹ for consideration by the 1960 legislature. The

¹ See the REVIEW, October 1959, page 468.

commission was organized in April 1959; it was headed by Governor S. Ernest Vandiver, *ex officio*, and included the lieutenant governor and two senators, the house speaker and three representatives, and nine citizens appointed by the governor. It was served by a staff under M. W. H. Collins, Jr., director of the Institute of Law and Government, School of Law, University of Georgia, and had as counsel former Assistant State Attorney General L. W. Sizemore. It was also assisted by a large number of state officials and employees and by outside consultants, including Public Administration Service.

The commission concentrated attention on financial and personnel administration, affecting all departments and agencies. It also dealt specifically with education, health and welfare; conservation and agriculture; highways; and independent boards, commissions, authorities, etc. Drafts of 25 proposed bills to implement its recommendations that require legislation were submitted with the report; five more, involving highway matters, were to be submitted separately.

Recommendations in the field of financial administration² included: (1) The making of provisions for obtaining interest on temporarily idle state funds, thus adding from \$600,000 to possibly \$2 million to annual income; (2) better insurance protection for state property, including establishment of a sound program of self-insurance, to be administered by the state supervisor of purchases; (3) improvements in fidelity bonding practices, also to be administered by the supervisor of purchases; (4) development by outside consultants for the Department of Revenue of a comprehensive plan for structural reorganization and procedural improvements in that department;

(5) Better treasury management, with simplified receipting for deposits, the im-

mediate deposit of revenues into the treasury and, if centralized accounting is adopted by the state, provision for centralization of disbursements; (6) improvement in financial aspects of personnel management, including a requirement for Budget Bureau approval of general salary increases and new positions in operating agencies, and extension of the classification plan to all employees; (7) improvements in purchasing, including a proposal that the responsibility for administering automobile mileage allowances be shifted from the supervisor of purchases to the various department and agency heads and the Budget Bureau; (8) permanent registration of state, county and city vehicles; (9) provision for destruction of obsolete records.

* * *

Recommendations as to personnel administration included: (1) A 44-hour minimum work week; (2) an employee accident prevention and safety program; (3) an employee suggestion and awards program; (4) improvements in pre-employment physical examinations for state employees; (5) provisions as to employee training; (6) a quarterly reporting system as to number of state employees; (7) the making of a thorough revision of the statutes governing the operation of the merit system, "resolving any conflicts therein and strengthening the system wherever possible," and providing for exemption of positions in each department "considered to be of a policy-making or confidential nature"; (8) improvements in position classifications and examination procedures.

As to agriculture and conservation, it was recommended that there be established an Advisory Committee on Institutional Farms composed of various state and college officials; it would submit to the commissioner of agriculture nominations for advisor to institutional farms, who would work for more efficient practices and greater usefulness of such

² See also page 151, this issue.

farms; that each state agency having control of forest lands cooperate with the State Forestry Commission as to their management and control; that more satisfactory procedures for sale of timber by state agencies be established; and that the Forestry Commission improve its planning, operating, budgeting and accounting methods.

Recommendations as to education included the appointment of assistant state superintendents of schools for fiscal administration and for programs, and that the Department of Education thereupon initiate a complete and thorough-going reorganization of its functions and activities; that there be a complete re-study of job classification and salaries in the department, with salary increases.

In regard to health and welfare the recommendations included establishment of a major mental health unit in the Department of Public Health; transfer of the Milledgeville State Hospital and the Gracewood School for Mental Defectives to that department; consolidation of the Hospital Advisory Committee and the Hospital Care Council; expanded prison industries, with establishment of a Prison Industries Authority; transfer of the Commission on Alcoholism to the health department; consolidation of three nurses boards; addition of a psychiatrist to the membership of the State Board of Health; abolition of the Social Security Board, creation of a State Welfare Advisory Board and activation of county welfare boards.

Abolition of the independent Veterans Home Commission, the Division of Confederate Pensions and Records and the office of supervising inspector of naval stores was recommended, their functions to be transferred to other agencies.

Besides such structural reorganization as is involved in the preceding recommendations, much had been done previously by the 1959 legislature, including abolition of 25 boards, bureaus, etc. The

commission made the recommendation, for possible future emergency need, that the governor be authorized to make temporary transfers of institutions from one agency to another between legislative sessions, such transfer to become permanent unless both houses dissent at the next session.

New Hampshire Convention Approves Four Amendments

A constitutional convention was held in New Hampshire on December 2, 3 and 4, 1959, on the call of the president of the 1956 constitutional convention, primarily to consider amendments to the state constitution that would restrict the length of legislative sessions.

Some twenty amendments were proposed, but only four were adopted, and these must be approved by the voters before they can go into effect. They would: (1) stop mileage payments to state legislators after 90 days or July 1, whichever date comes first; (2) give the legislature authority to fill vacancies in the state or local governments caused by emergency attack; (3) boost from \$100 to \$500 the minimum amount of damage claims in civil suits for which a jury trial can be demanded; and (4) allow the legislature to delete non-residents from the population census in computing apportionment of seats in the State House of Representatives.

JOSEPH P. FORD

University of New Hampshire

Illinois Supreme Court Negates 'Yes' on Ballots

In a six-to-one decision on January 22, 1960, the Illinois Supreme Court sealed the fate of the judicial reform amendment to the state constitution, which had fallen 65,784 votes short of the required two-thirds majority on November 4, 1958, by virtue of the ruling of election officials that ballots marked "yes" for the amendment, instead of using "x", should be ignored.

Samuel W. Witwer, a candidate for the Republican nomination for U. S. senator, who was cochairman of a court reform committee, argued before the court that the amendment received enough votes if the clear meaning of the "yes" ballots was recognized.

Chief Justice Byron O. House, of Nashville, Illinois, wrote in the majority opinion that "the opportunities for fraud would be vast" without uniformity in the manner of voting. Justice Walter V. Schaefer of Cook County (Chicago), whose district includes the majority of the population of the entire state, dissented and urged that there should be recognition of "simple and straightforward expression of intention."

The unsuccessful amendment would have included provision for a Supreme Court with three judges from Cook County and four from the rest of the state, having a minority of the population.

Voter Registration Scandals Revealed in Kentucky

The Logan County (Kentucky) Purgation Board reported in January the results of a registration check in April 1959 and subsequently, which removed 9,026 names from a total of some 22,000, and indicated that an additional 5,000 should likewise be purged. The last previous purging was in 1936.

One discovery was that the books still carried the names of members of a Civilian Conservation Corps camp that was abandoned in 1939. Examination of comparative-signature books used in last November's election revealed many obvious forgeries and duplications of signatures. One man's signature was found in the signature books of six precincts. Charges of much vote-buying were made in the press.

The board recommended to the legislature that all existing registration books in Kentucky be destroyed, that a complete new statewide registration be made

and repeated every four years, and that greater responsibility for maintenance of election records and for honest elections be placed on precinct election officers.

Professor J. E. Reeves of the Department of Political Science, University of Kentucky, in a letter to the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, expressed doubts as to the effectiveness of such drastic steps. He pointed out that the first two recommendations have been tried in various states with poor results and that the precinct officers are already responsible for the honest conduct of elections and for purgation recommendations; and stated that to give them more power over registration records would give more opportunity for errors and corruption.

He emphasized that the need is for more adequate methods of enforcing existing laws, including such means as the house-to-house canvass, a statewide purgation system, better information for local election officials and power for the county attorney to compel the County Board of Registration and Purgation to perform its duties.

Absentees May Vote In Pennsylvania

Absentee voting for civilians has become available in Pennsylvania by the governor's signature of an absentee voting bill which implements the recently passed constitutional amendment. Pennsylvania has been one of the last states to permit absentee voting.

The new law applies to voters who are ill or expect to be unavoidably absent during 30 days preceding the election. The voter must individually ask for the appropriate form and, when he returns it, his signature on the ballot envelope must be witnessed but not necessarily by a notary. The absentee ballots will be of a special color, may be marked with pencil, crayon or ink and must be returned no later than the second Friday after the election. The board will then

convene to count the ballots under conditions that will prevent identification of the sender.

The law does not provide for absentee registration. It will take effect at the spring primary of 1960.

R.S.C.

California, Texas Propose Amendments

Amendments to their constitutions passed the 1959 legislatures of California and Texas and will be voted on by the people in November of this year.

One California proposal would increase the term of an assemblyman from two years to four. Another would raise legislators' salaries from \$500 to \$750 per month.

The Texas legislature approved a proposed amendment to establish annual salaries for legislators, instead of per diem payments. It authorizes an annual salary of not more than \$4,800, plus up to \$12 per diem for the first 120 days of each regular session and 30 days of each special session. Regular sessions would have a limit of 140 days. At present legislators are limited to \$25 per day for regular sessions (120 days) and special sessions (30 days).

Northeastern Conference Considers Interstate Matters

Interstate problems in the fields of welfare and natural resources were the main topics at the fourth Biennial Regional Conference of the Northeastern States, held in New York City, December 14-15. State officials from ten northeastern states attended the conference, sponsored jointly by the New York Joint Legislative Conference on Interstate Cooperation and the Council of State Governments.

Major proposals for interstate compacts in the welfare field were explained. One, the Interstate Welfare Compact, has been approved by the Governors' Conference. The second is a proposed compact on the placement of children which is currently being developed.

Various aspects of water resources and other natural resources programs were discussed, and reports were made on the work of several interstate resource agencies in the northeast.

Other topics considered included a proposed crime investigations compact, the New England Corrections Compact and the Interstate Agreement on Detainers.

Governors to Meet In Glacier Park

A Montana host committee is preparing for the 1960 Governors' Conference, to be held in Glacier National Park, June 26-29. An attendance of 750 is anticipated.

More Appointments to Intergovernmental Commission

Following President Eisenhower's appointments to the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations,¹ Vice President Nixon has appointed three senators as members: Edmund S. Muskie (Maine) and Sam J. Ervin, Jr. (North Carolina), Democrats, and Karl E. Mundt (South Dakota), Republican. Speaker Rayburn of the House of Representatives appointed three congressmen: L. H. Fountain (North Carolina) and Wilbur D. Mills (Arkansas), Democrats, and Florence P. Dwyer (New Jersey), Republican.

¹ See the REVIEW, January 1960, page 27.

Metropolitan Areas*William N. Cassella, Jr., Editor*

Cleveland Seeks New Metro Solution

Forms Committee to Make Plans for County Charter

COUNTY home rule is very much alive in Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), Ohio, despite the defeat of a proposed charter last November.

A committee has been formed to evaluate last year's defeat and lay the groundwork for another charter commission. The Cuyahoga County Mayors' Association started the movement by appointing a small committee of its members, composed of mayors who had been both for and against the charter last fall.

Mayor Anthony J. Celebrezze of Cleveland, long an advocate of county home rule, but who opposed the 1959 proposal because he felt it failed to include sufficient protection for the municipalities, has accepted the chairmanship of the committee. His first step was to expand it by adding the three county commissioners and nine other political and civic leaders, including important leaders of both the pro and con sides of the 1959 charter campaign.

Efforts to modernize the county government and make a start toward solution of some of the more pressing metropolitan problems of Greater Cleveland were started before 1920, when Clarence A. Dykstra was director of the Citizens League.¹ Throughout the four decades since that time the league has continued to work on the project.

The Ohio constitution was amended in 1933 to establish a method for obtaining county home rule; a charter was drafted

in 1935 which received two of the required four majorities but was voided by the Supreme Court; another was drafted in 1950, to be rejected by the voters; and the state constitution was amended in 1957 to reduce the number of majorities required for adoption of a charter.

The current movement had its beginnings in 1955 when nearly a hundred community organizations joined together to establish a research agency to make a thorough study of the problems of government in the metropolitan area. This agency, the Cleveland Metropolitan Services Commission, was popularly known as Metro. Before it finished its work in July 1959, it had published nearly 30 reports and had involved several hundred community political and civic leaders in the project.

A county charter commission was elected in November 1958, met throughout the spring of 1959 and put a proposed charter on the ballot in November 1959.² It provided for a mayor-council form of government and gave the county authority to assume a number of important powers, including water supply, sewers, transportation, airports and seaport.

A citizens committee raised and spent \$68,000 on the campaign for the charter. It had the support of both political parties, all three newspapers, Chamber of Commerce, labor, League of Women Voters, Citizens League and more than twenty other important civic groups. No civic group opposed it. The Mayors' Association was the only organized area-wide group in opposition. At the meeting where the association considered the question, some members insisted on a secret vote. The vote was 29 against to 16 for the charter, with three not voting

¹ See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, October 1919, pages 551-556.

² See the NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW, October 1959, pages 475-477, for a description of the proposed charter.

and ten absent. During the campaign, eleven of the 29 opposing mayors identified themselves but the other 18 insisted on remaining anonymous. Only one worked actively against the charter.

Mayor Celebrezze was one of the eleven openly opposed to the charter. He did not himself campaign against it but did encourage his department heads and several members of his law department to work against it.

The most effective campaigners against the charter were the heads of the Cleveland Public Utilities Department and Port Department, who had most to lose by adoption of the charter because the major part of their departments would have been subject to transfer to the county had the charter been adopted. They are both former city councilmen, colorful personalities and seasoned and effective campaigners. They made headlines over and over again because they said and did the things that make headlines, while charter proponents were taking the "educational" approach that left the reporters empty-handed when they wrote their stories.

Fundamentally, the opposition centered around the proposition that the charter went too far in giving the county power to deprive the municipalities of their assets and powers. Most of the opponents said they would be for a charter that would modernize the county structure and give the municipalities reasonable protection against arbitrary county action.

When the battle was over and the smoke cleared away, the charter had received 42.4 per cent of the votes in Cleveland, 46.7 per cent in the area of the county outside the city, and 44.7 per cent of the total county vote. It won in 27 municipalities and townships and lost in 35; thus it almost cleared the so-called "fourth hurdle" (a majority in a majority of the municipalities and townships) which was eliminated by constitutional amendment in 1957 on the ground

it was impossible. The 1935 and 1950 charters received majorities in only twelve municipalities and townships.

The charter carried in only three of the 33 Cleveland wards. The ward giving it its highest majority (60.0 per cent) was one which experienced a severe flood in the spring of 1959.

Negro wards voted solidly against the charter. This resulted primarily from a concern over the possibility that Cleveland might lose some important assets, particularly the water department, and dilute the power of Cleveland, where most Negro voters live and where their influence is increasing.

* * *

Immediately after the election, newspapers and the Citizens League called on the opponents and proponents to get together and work for a charter they could all support.

The Mayors' Association responded by adopting a resolution reaffirming its belief in the need for a county charter and establishing a committee to pursue the matter. Mayor Celebrezze, its chairman, has worked vigorously to establish the larger committee and get it functioning.

Tentative timetable calls for meetings this spring and summer, with a vote on a charter commission this fall and another charter vote in the fall of 1961.

After the 1950 charter defeat, there was a deadening silence as though a great scourge had passed over the land. "Charter" and "metropolitan" were nasty words. Why the difference in 1960? All factors are not identifiable, but some are:

1. The difficult problems of "metropolitanitis" have gotten ten years and 300,000 people worse.

2. The Metro studies and activities laid bare the naked facts about the problems. The facts won't go away. The conclusion is inescapable: "Do something or suffer the dire consequences."

3. After Metro finished last summer,

community leaders, particularly those in the Cleveland Development Foundation, saw clearly that something must be done to keep up to date and extend the Metro research, else the reports go the way of most good studies, namely, rot on library shelves. These leaders designated the Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research to pick up the task and keep the program alive through added research. They gave the bureau an additional \$25,000 a year for this purpose.

The bureau has developed a research program and started on its implementation. All the recommendations of Metro have been summarized in one publication and a check list of progress prepared. The bureau plans to republish this list periodically and continue preparing studies that will facilitate community understanding of the problems. The fact that this program was started before the charter defeat of last fall has been an important factor in keeping the movement alive.

4. Credit must also be given to the public officials in the community who have come to understand the problem and are devoted to doing something about it. Notable among these are the leaders of the Mayors' Association, the board of county commissioners, several other county officials and a number of the members of the state legislature from Cuyahoga County.

ESTAL E. SPARLIN, *Director*
Citizens League of Cleveland

Legislature to Decide If Metro Is a Means or an End

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below is reprinted from *The Toronto Daily Star* for January 5, 1960.

No one will take a vote on it, but sometime in 1960 it will be decided, almost imperceptibly, whether Toronto's six-year-old experiment in metropolitan government is to remain as is. Or whether the new government called

Metro is a transitional stepping-stone to the amalgamation of thirteen municipalities into one big city.

There are only two choices. There is no going back to the Balkanization of thirteen autonomous principalities (who, before Metro, couldn't even agree on how to build the roads that joined them).

It is easy to point to the democratic deficiencies of Toronto's metropolitan government: The fact that members of the council are not elected directly to it but hold the great power of Metro office by virtue of holding some lesser office; the fact that these inheritors of power pass much of it on to their chairman, who is elected only by this tiny cabal of 24—thereby insulating Fred Gardiner [chairman, Metro council] even further from the people; the fact that the votes of the council members are wildly disproportionate to the numbers of voters they represent.

It is exactly these deficiencies which will force the decision to be made: either to clean house and confirm Metro as a permanent government or to push slowly onward to amalgamation.

The immense physical accomplishments of the Metro government (the water supply almost doubled, 133 new schools built, 301 enlarged, almost \$400,000,000 spent in municipal improvements) have taken the old fervor out of the arguments for amalgamation. Amalgamation is no longer the consuming passion of city politicians.

An American professor who recently completed a perceptive documentary study on Metropolitan Toronto for the University of Kansas noticed this, too. In a booklet prepared for that university's Governmental Research Center, Professor John G. Grumm found an "attitude of complacency" setting in here.

"Metro's tangible successes," he wrote, "have blurred the perception of the area's still-unresolved problems."

"It is now doubtful that Metro will become a stepping-stone to some more comprehensive solution, such as a complete consolidation of the area, as many had hoped."

Or, as an editor of *The Toronto Star* used to say in the old days: "Gentlemen, we do not argue with success."

The decision whether to leave Metro as it is, a detached, impersonal, new level of government, or to amalgamate into just one vast municipal administration, lies, not with the Metro government itself, but with the provincial government, creator of this municipal experiment in the first place.

A decision to be made this year by the provincial government—if in fact it has not already been made—will be important in determining Metro's future course.

* * *

Concerned with the lopsided voting system which gives the 9,000 people of Swansea the same power as the 200,000 people of North York, the metropolitan council on February 10, 1959, asked the province to change the method by which Metro councillors cast their votes—so the reeve of a big suburb would carry four votes in his pocket, the reeve of a little suburb, only one.

The idea came from Fred Gardiner himself. Having accomplished the big magic of making this new government work, he was becoming concerned and sensitive about charges that his government was unrepresentative and undemocratic.

The request was made too late in the year to be considered by the 1959 session of the legislature. It will, unless it is quietly killed beforehand, be considered by a committee of the 1960 legislature.

More is involved than just a democratic patch-up. For if the provincial government grants the request to make the metropolitan councillors more rep-

resentative of the people back home, it will be starting a program of gradual reform, making the metropolitan government a more acceptable government in the eyes of the people—and therefore a permanent one.

Those on the metropolitan council who declared themselves against the new system of weighted voting were not anti-democratic. They were perceptive enough to see that anything which makes Metro more acceptable also makes it permanent—and therefore slows or kills the evolution to complete amalgamation.

Those on the metropolitan council who voted against the more democratic voting system included four city of Toronto aldermen: Givens, Archer, Birchard, Waters, three of whom belong to the more liberal wing of municipal politics. They were not voting against democracy; they were voting to keep Metro as a transitional, sometime thing.

If the provincial government accedes to the request (a request made by the metropolitan council by a vote of thirteen to eight) it will be saying explicitly that Metro is not a sometime thing; that it is here to stay; that it is a government to be moulded and reformed from its rough-hewn beginnings in crisis into an established and acceptable popular government.

After that, the next area of reform must necessarily be some other method of choosing the metropolitan chairman.

Nashville Council Vetoes New Metro Charter Vote

The Nashville (Tennessee) City Council on February 2 voted down, ten to nine, a resolution calling for a new metropolitan government charter commission for Nashville and Davidson County and a subsequent referendum on city-county consolidation. A referendum on merger in June 1958 resulted in a "yes" vote in the city of Nashville and a "no"

vote outside Nashville, with separate majorities being required for adoption.

The recent effort to revive the merger proposal was principally the work of one enthusiastic member of the county governing body and resulted in passage by that group—the Davidson County Court—of a resolution calling for a new charter commission. This action was taken on January 18 by a vote of 29 to 24, with the negative vote coming almost entirely from magistrates living outside of Nashville.

The narrow defeat in the city council reflects a general feeling among many of the original backers of a metropolitan charter that there has not been sufficient change in suburban sentiment to justify a new referendum, and thus no real pressure was exerted by Nashville's mayor or by citizens generally on the councilmen. In addition, some of the council members have merely continued their original opposition to city-county consolidation. The councilman who introduced the resolution announced he would try again after the election of a new county court later this year. Meanwhile, the "birth rate" of new incorporated suburban cities—approximately one per year—will make a future consolidation progressively more difficult to accomplish.

DANIEL R. GRANT
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Committee for Washington Metro Area Reports Progress

The Joint Congressional Committee on Washington Metropolitan Problems has reported progress on transportation and other national capital regional programs during the past year.¹ The committee

has devoted major attention to consideration of the recommendations of the Washington Mass Transportation Survey including extensive public hearings in November 1959. A report on the hearings and legislative recommendations is being formulated.

A 1959 committee recommendation that Congress pass a resolution declaring the "federal interest in proper development of the metropolitan area" resulted in passage of such a resolution (S.J.R.42) by the Senate without a dissenting vote. The joint resolution is still being considered by committee in the House.

The Washington Metropolitan Regional Council has been strengthened along the lines suggested by the committee. This body, which represents local officials and legislators in the area, has appointed an executive director. The local governments are contributing \$20,000 as its first annual budget. Local officials opposed the committee's recommendation that a regional water supply and pollution control agency be established but have formed through their metropolitan conference the Metropolitan Washington Water Supply and Pollution Abatement Committee. This group is preparing recommendations on the questions of drainage and sewage disposal raised by the construction of the new Dulles International Airport.

As urged by the joint committee appropriations for regional planning, activities have been increased. Both the National Capital Planning Commission and the National Capital Regional Planning Council have expanded their staffs and have begun work on drafting a "sketch plan" of development of the region to the year 2000. This project is being undertaken in cooperation with the Baltimore Regional Planning Council and "will reflect the expected impact of the continued growth and interdependence of the whole Washington-Baltimore-Annapolis superregion."

¹ *Further Progress on Transportation and Other Metropolitan Problems. Report of the Joint Committee on Washington Metropolitan Problems. (Report 1074, Senate, 86th Congress, 2nd Session.)* U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1960.

Proportional Representation

George H. Hallett, Jr., and
Wm. Redin Woodward, Editors

Worcester Continues Good Government

Elects Representative Council, School Board

ON the same day last November when Massachusetts' second city voted 35,081 to 31,019 to retain "Plan E"—the council-manager plan with proportional representation¹—its voters used P. R. for the sixth time to elect obviously representative groups of prominent citizens to the city council and school committee for the next two years.

The Citizens' Plan "E" Association, the nonpartisan civic organization which secured the original adoption of the plan and then continued for the purpose of endorsing and electing trustworthy friends of good government under it, saw candidates from its ticket elected to a majority of the places as at every one of the preceding P. R. elections. This time five of the nine new councillors were association nominees and four of the six elected to the school committee.

The council subsequently elected from its own number one of the C.E.A. designees, former Mayor James D. O'Brien, to serve as mayor and president of the school committee.

As usual almost exactly nine-tenths of those who cast valid ballots elected candidates to the council and six-sevenths to the school committee.² The required re-

examination of ballots at the close of the count showed that in the council election 5,151 of the 6,428 "exhausted" ballots which did not help to elect any of the nine successful candidates because all the choices marked on them were either defeated or elected by others, nevertheless did show one or more choices for elected candidates, while only 1,277 were marked for defeated candidates only.

In the election of the school committee 6,257 of the 9,142 exhausted ballots showed choices for one or more of the six candidates elected, while only 2,885 did not. Thus actually 98 per cent of those who cast valid ballots for council (62,774 out of 64,051) and 95.5 per cent of those who cast valid ballots for school committee (61,127 out of 64,012) are represented by someone for whom they voted.

In contrast to this the *Worcester Telegram* of November 2, 1959, editorially summarized the results of the last election under the ward plan with plurality elections to which the voters were invited to return:

"The last time Worcester held a city election by wards was in 1947. Out of the ten ward aldermen jobs at stake that year, there were four wards in which the voters had a choice between two candidates.

"The record shows that in those four wards, 13,021 voters failed to make their ballots count for anybody. They were on the losing side.

"Only a single candidate was on the ballot for alderman in each of the other six wards that year. Any citizen who didn't like the single candidate in his particular ward was out of luck. All he could do was to leave his ballot blank. And 9,231 voters did just that in silent

¹ See the REVIEW, February 1960, page 100.

² This is the natural result of the P. R. rules, which fix a quota of one-tenth of the total plus one as the quota sufficient to elect one out of nine and a quota of one-seventh of the total plus one as the quota to elect one out of six.

protest against a system that effectually disenfranchised them.³ . . .

"Contrast this with the results of Worcester's Plan E elections where the voters are free to vote for any candidate they wish, regardless of artificial ward lines. The record shows that two years ago only 864 ballots failed to show a choice for a winning council candidate—only 864 out of nearly 60,000 ballots involved in that election. Similar results have been achieved in all of Worcester's Plan E elections."

The variety of councillors and school committeemen elected from the different elements of the city's population and political groups makes it seem obvious that nearly all the voters must have been well satisfied with some part of the results.

All but one of the members of the outgoing council ran for re-election. Two were defeated. One incumbent school committeeman was defeated and one did not run. There were 30 candidates for council, fifteen for school committee.

The vote was the heaviest since the first P. R. election in 1949.

* * *

The count was conducted in the Armory, as in the five previous P. R. elections, by a large force of trained counters, mostly women, under the direction of Mr. Hallett of this department, with the help of three of the city's best C. P. A.s. It was completed without untoward incident in four long days, the council count ending late Friday afternoon and the school committee count Saturday evening.

On Monday the counting force came

³ This year under P. R. there were 130 blank ballots for council, 687 for school committee. There were also 2,921 invalid ballots for council and 2,410 for school committee—mostly for marking several X's or several 1's instead of consecutive numbers. Although no examination was made of these ballots, it seems almost certain that a large part of them showed one or more marks for elected candidates like the exhausted ballots.

together again to gather required statistics from the ballots for the public's information. This showed, among other things, that most of the voters who helped elect candidates were represented by early choices, that in all parts of the city a high percentage of the voters helped elect candidates and just where each of the elected candidates got his support. No less than 67 per cent of those who cast valid ballots for council saw their very first choices elected (43,197 out of 64,051) and 64 per cent of those who cast valid ballots for school committee (41,190 out of 64,012).

The Worcester papers (both under the same management) expressed general satisfaction with the results. The *Evening Gazette* of November 7 said of the new council:

"Each of the nine men elected to the city council that takes office in January is the considered choice of a group of Worcester citizens. Together, these councillors will represent and serve the entire city for two busy years. . . .

"This new council has the potential to give outstanding service. It blends experience with freshness, familiar faces and ideas with new approaches."

And the *Worcester Telegram* of November 9 commented editorially on the new school committee:

"The high caliber of Worcester school committees in recent years has made better schools possible. The ambitious plans of Superintendent of Schools Doherty and his staff depend on the support of an enlightened, cooperative, non-political school committee. This support seems assured for the next two years."

Once again the results secured and the generally high quality of Worcester's government would seem to call for a continuance of the present charter. But the referendum last fall was relatively close, and it is generally expected that opponents will try again next fall—either for a whole new charter or for the repeal of P. R.

The Citizens' Plan "E" Association has promised a vigorous campaign of education and defense. And the city is fortunate in having an unusually enlightened press, which has given fair news and advertising space to both sides, but has lost no opportunity to explain elections and issues fully to the voters and to point out the advantages of the council-manager plan and P. R.

AN UNCHARTED SEA

(Continued from page 119)

riam and his staff. It is particularly pleasing to me that Bob Merriam is to be our liaison with the administration—I have known and worked with Bob for many years and have enjoyed all of it.

We are fortunate that every major section of our nation is represented on this commission by a federal official, a senator, a member of Congress, a governor, a mayor, a county officer, a state legislator or a private citizen. Both sexes, I am happy to say, are represented. Both the executive and legislative branches of government are assembled here. In brief, we fully reflect the diversity and immensity of this great country.

I believe we can all agree that world peace and disarmament are and will continue to be the leading problem in the field of international relations. The leading domestic problem is and will continue to be, however, intergovernmental relations and the internal strengthening of our federal system of government for the

freedom and well-being of our people in the future. I believe we will achieve success on both fronts and I am delighted with the company I am keeping in this endeavor.

WIN BY OUR OWN RULES

(Continued from page 132)

growth of our metropolitan areas, so there is no waving of a wand that will stimulate the growth we need in our national economy. Need it, we do, especially in the competitive world situation. Even peace, contrary to the Soviet view, would be a booster of American economic growth and there is no reason why we could not supply all the needs of people everywhere if the wealthier nations would work together in peace and cooperation. But government can help only by creating an atmosphere conducive to growth. It cannot itself produce that growth. To say that it could would be to argue the case for the kind of planned economy maintained by our ideological adversary.

We must show the world we can win in the growth game playing by our own rules. Given a broader and better knowledge of economics throughout our country, and with the zeal with which Americans always compete, we can win this contest and prove once and for all that our economic system is, indeed, the most productive, the most socially rewarding and the most dynamic the world has ever known.

Taxation and Finance

Jackson Phillips, Editor

State Finance Trends Reviewed

Governors Discuss Tax Problems in Messages

A REVIEW of current trends in state finance indicates that in general spending is continuing to increase, general and specific sales taxes are continuing to spread and that borrowing, particularly through use of the authority device and the issuance of revenue bonds, will continue to rise. Massachusetts, Virginia and Kentucky are considering state sales taxes, while Colorado is considering authorizing a local sales tax and Mississippi is considering allowing increased local use of the sales tax. Population increases and the demand for more governmental services are generally considered the primary causes for the upward pressure on state spending.

The trend toward use of authority financing is continuing under the squeeze imposed by outmoded limitations on state issuance of general obligation bonds. Most governors noted in their messages to the legislatures this year that highway spending, particularly that on the Interstate System, will decline in the coming year because of reductions in federal aid. Some states, such as New York, are attempting to bridge this gap by increased use of state funds. There is also increased concern at the state level about uniformity in local assessment practices.

The statements below summarize some of the governors' messages on finance.

Arizona

In his message to the Arizona legislature Governor Paul Fannin urged that it consult and work with the State Tax

Commission to insure the latter's carrying out its legal duty of establishing uniformity of assessment practices in each county. He also recommended increased appropriations for the Arizona Development Board to expand its promotion of industrial development and tourist income. He recommended an appropriation for a survey of the state's education system and suggested that the legislature review the current sales price of state liquor licenses relative to the revenue the state receives from them.

A subsequent budget message was to deal more specifically with the state's capital expenditure program and other fiscal aspects of state government.

California

Governor Edmund G. Brown of California told the legislature that state finances are in sound condition. He estimated that the general fund will show a net balance of about \$73 million, about \$23 million of which is the result of cuts below budget authorizations and the remainder from improvement in economic conditions. For fiscal 1960-61 the governor estimated the state's income at \$1,633 million and expenditures, including state operations, capital outlay from current funds and local assistance, at \$1,705.5 million. The difference would be covered by this year's surplus and leave a surplus at June 30, 1961, of \$1.4 million.

On the subject of expenditures the governor recommended that \$1,045 million, or 42 per cent of the total, be devoted to the support of public schools and higher education. Increased financial support was also recommended for mental health and state beach and park acquisition. The governor recommended a general salary increase averaging 5 per cent for 85,000 state civil service employees, 9,500 personnel of state colleges and

20,000 employees of the University of California and other groups not included under civil service.

Colorado

Governor Stephen McNichols recommended that the General Assembly refer to the people in November a constitutional amendment to grant authority to it to authorize imposition of a uniform statewide sales tax by local political subdivisions with local self-determination. Local areas with immediate financial problems could refer a measure to the people at the same election; on passage of both the constitutional amendment and the local measure, to go into effect at the time specified in the local measure.

In his message to the General Assembly the Colorado governor also reported that the 1959-60 budget will be balanced. General fund revenues for the current year are estimated at \$77.1 million, expenditures at \$72.5 million, leaving a surplus of \$4.6 million for transfer to the capital construction fund at the end of the year. For 1960-61 the governor recommended a general fund budget of \$86.9 million, up 19.8 per cent from the current year. Public school requirements represent 41.2 per cent of the recommended total, higher education 26.4 per cent, other institutions 20 per cent, all other purposes 11.7 per cent. Estimated receipts of the general fund total \$89.3 million, leaving an estimated surplus of about \$2.6 million. The governor recommended a capital construction budget for 1960-61 in the total amount of \$12.2 million.

Georgia

Georgia's Governor Ernest Vandiver suggested that the state adopt several of the provisions recommended by the state's Economy and Reorganization Commission, including withholding of the state's present income tax. He stated that every one of the sixteen states now utilizing withholding had informed

Georgia that withholding laws are operating successfully, acceptance has been excellent, collections have increased, evasion has been minimized, administration of income tax laws has been improved and the system is easier on the taxpayer.

The governor also recommended measures aimed at restoring to the General Assembly the responsibility of appropriating money for state operations. He explained that the state's so-called gasoline and tag tax allocation amendment has the practical effect of preventing enactment of appropriations bills because passage of such bills "would necessitate taking large amounts of funds away from other departments." The governor proposed a self-executing constitutional amendment for highways by which highway expenditures would be tied to the previous year's gasoline tax receipts. He stated passage of the measure would make it possible for him to present an appropriations bill next year.

The governor stated that the current rate of state expenditures of approximately \$350 million is within the current rate of the state's income. Net operating surplus at the end of the current fiscal year at June 30, however, will total only a little over \$5 million, which he characterized as "a dangerously low cushion to have under a \$350-million-a-year budget." He recommended that capital financing be continued and expanded through the authority method, which the state now employs to a considerable extent. Authorities handling state capital financing presently include the Georgia Rural Roads Authority, State Bridge Building Authority, State Office Building Authority, State School Building Authority, University System Building Authority, State Hospital Authority, State Toll Bridge Authority and State Ports Authority.

The governor also recommended that the state institute a planned system of investing its idle funds in order to

maximize its interest income. This device presents an opportunity to many governments not now employing it. California's general fund, for example, recently received \$5.9 million interest income on securities profits for the last quarter of 1959. Minnesota reported income on investments of some \$300 million currently earn about \$6 million a year, most of which goes for state aid to schools. And in New Jersey, which is one of the few states with a central office to handle all investments for state agencies and pension funds, the investments division realized a cash return of \$24 million on investments of some \$830 million in the last fiscal year.

Kentucky

When Kentucky Governor Bert Combs addressed the General Assembly, the veterans' bonus issue was still tied up in the courts, so that he made no specific recommendations regarding it. He indicated, however, that the state had a moral obligation to pay the bonus and recommended the levy of a general tax of 3 per cent on retail sales to finance it. At the same time he stated he hoped later to be able to recommend "favorable readjustments of income taxes" to provide greater equity in the state's tax system and to attract new industry to the state. Subsequent to the governor's address, the Kentucky Court of Appeals ruled unanimously that the bond-financed veterans' bonus proposal approved by voters last November was valid. This decision reversed a Circuit Court ruling last month that the bonus measure was invalid.¹

The Kentucky governor also recommended "substantial" increases in school teachers' salaries and establishment of a state school building authority to assist local school districts in construction of school buildings. He suggested the

legislature study closely the state's motor vehicle tax structure "with a view toward a fair and equitable increase in the structure of taxation levied on trucks."

Michigan

Governor G. Mennen Williams noted at the beginning of his message to the Michigan legislature that he would recommend no new tax program, that by adopting an inadequate and temporary program of nuisance taxes, the 1959 legislature had determined that the people would have to settle new taxes for the state at the polls in November. He stated that the deficit will total \$70 million to \$80 million by the end of this fiscal year. The burden, he said, must be borne by the schools and local communities whose payments cannot be met. "We now have about \$50 to \$60 million in unpaid bills alone and, with our present revenues, there is little prospect of eliminating this backlog."

The governor also recommended establishment of a state industrial building authority to permit use of the state's faith and credit to guarantee loans for industrial construction, patterned after the existing program under which the state lends its credit to guarantee school construction loans. In addition he recommended establishment of a state building authority with power to issue revenue bonds for public building construction, the bonds to be retired by rentals charged to state agencies occupying the buildings.

It was noted that five years ago the state's constitution was amended to authorize a \$100 million school bond loan program and that this program will expire July 1, 1962. The governor recommended that a proposal to liberalize and extend this program be submitted to the voters in November.

Mississippi

Mississippi's Governor Ross Barnett dwelt at length on the state's need to attract more industrial development in

¹ See the REVIEW, February 1960, page 96.

his message to the legislature. To accomplish this he recommended increased research and establishment of industrial parks. He urged legislation authorizing the issuance of industrial park bonds. To promote the same purpose he urged abolition of the state's income tax on a gradual basis. He suggested that for the first year the tax be cut one-half of one per cent and that this reduction be followed each year until the tax is completely eliminated. As a safeguard, the state's Commission on Budget and Accounting would be required to certify annually that the state's finances are in condition to bear the tax reduction.

The governor also recommended setting up a revolving fund for a forestry bank which would aid small land owners in planting timber on idle lands. To help municipalities the governor asserted he would sign a bill authorizing them to submit to their qualified electors the amount of sales tax to be levied within the municipality. He urged that the legislature provide "substantial" increases in teachers' salaries, so that over a four-year period average teachers' salaries would rise to a level equal to teachers' salaries in other southern states. He also requested increased assistance to the aged "as much as the economy of the state can afford."

New Jersey

Governor Robert B. Meyner of New Jersey recommended that the state pledge its credit for bonds of the State Public Housing and Development Authority to create capital for moderate income housing. This and other fiscal matters were included in his message to the legislature in addition to his proposal for allowing each county to set its own real property tax assessment level.²

Relative to interstate financial matters, the governor recommended passage of the

Delaware River and Bay Compact, a treaty with Delaware to create a bistate agency. It would operate the existing Delaware Memorial Bridge, issue revenue bonds to construct a parallel span and develop additional facilities for crossing the Delaware Bay. The governor discussed his continuing efforts to get New York State to adjust its income tax on New Jersey residents and to get Philadelphia to discuss the problem of its municipal wage tax on New Jersey residents.

The governor suggested that counties, municipalities and school districts be given the option of purchasing equipment and supplies through the State Division of Purchase and Property. The effect, he said, would be to establish a ceiling for standard supplies and permit local officials to reduce costs.

Rhode Island

Rhode Island Governor Chistopher Del Sesto recommended that the legislature enact a standard local bond law which would include a realistic debt limit in place of the present 3 per cent limitation now in effect and which would eliminate the necessity of separate legislative approval for local bond issues. He also suggested amendment of the law with respect to the assessment and collection of intangible personal property tax to provide that the assessment and collection be assumed by the state, rather than by local communities. The rate of the tax and the definition of taxable intangible personal property would remain unchanged. The state would retain 25 per cent of the tax for administration expenses and the balance would be divided equally between the state and the local communities based on the legal residence of taxpayers.

The governor requested continuing authority to permit the state to borrow not in excess of \$5 million in any one fiscal year in anticipation of taxes. He recommended transferring the Division

² See the REVIEW, February 1960, page 95.

of Taxation from the Department of Administration and establishing it as a separate Department of Revenue with increased responsibilities. The Board of Tax Equalization would be transferred to the Department of Revenue as would a recommended Division of Local Government Affairs.

Recommends Fiscal Changes For New York City

The New York State Commission on Governmental Operations of the City of New York¹ has suggested several financial reforms. A basic recommendation calls for reducing the city's \$4 billion outstanding debt over a period of years to \$3 billion by financing some capital purchases with current tax revenues instead of with bonds. New York City's \$4 billion debt is greater than that of the next four largest U. S. cities combined and the debt of most states. The city spends some \$400 million a year, about 18 per cent of its annual expense budget, for interest and principal on debt. The commission said the city could use a portion of these annual debt service payments for pay-as-you-go capital outlays by prolonging the maturities on some of its bonds. Such an extension is feasible, since much of the city's debt is held by city-managed pension and sinking funds.

The commission also recommended that the city reschedule tax payment dates to bring in more receipts at times when cash outflow is greatest and thus cut down on the need to borrow for short term financing, which now costs the city some \$3 million a year.

The commission also urged a switch in city investment policy. It suggested the city make fewer purchases of relatively

low-yielding New York City bonds and place more reliance on higher-yielding U. S. government and corporate bonds. The commission's report noted that the city's five pension funds hold assets of \$2.5 billion. In the fiscal year just ended it reported 84 per cent of the funds' new money went into city securities with a yield of about 3.41 per cent. Alternative investing in government bonds and high grade corporate bonds would have yielded the city from 4.6 per cent to 4.3 per cent.

Ten States Raise Sales Tax In Three Years

Ten of the 34 states with sales taxes have raised their rates since 1956, says the Federation of Tax Administrators. No new sales taxes have been imposed in the past three years.

Half of the 34 states have a 3 per cent rate. A 2 per cent rate is collected in twelve states and the District of Columbia, 4 per cent in two states, 3½ per cent in one, 2½ per cent in one and ¾ per cent in one—the rate applied to retailers under Indiana's gross income tax law.

In addition, local governments use a sales tax in nine of the sales tax states. In California, Illinois and Mississippi a large proportion of the population lives in these local areas, so most Californians pay a combined state-local sales tax of 4 per cent, most Illinois and Mississippi residents of 3½ per cent.

In five other states, both local and state sales taxes are paid by some citizens: Alabama, Colorado, Louisiana, New Mexico and Utah.

Food bought for home consumption is exempt from sales taxes in nine states. The District of Columbia taxes food at half rate, 1 per cent. States which do tax food get about one-fourth of their sales tax income from it.

¹ See also page 133, this issue.

Citizen Action

Elsie S. Parker, Editor

Voters Vindicate City Manager

Hartford Citizens Turn Down Partisan Appeal

THE municipal election of 1959 in

Hartford, Connecticut, was more than the usual biennial election of the city council and board of education. It was a vindication of the council-manager form of government, in effect since 1947 but under strong attack from the dominant political party for the last few years.

Hartford has become virtually a one-party town in the last ten years. The dominant group is the Democratic party and its members have complained about having a city manager, Carleton F. Sharpe, who is beyond political control. Many of them have openly stated that the strong mayor form, such as exists in New Haven, Connecticut, is preferable to the Hartford council-manager arrangement and point with pride to Democratic Mayor Richard C. Lee of New Haven as a shining example of a politically powerful mayor.

The Hartford charter provides that the city council of nine shall be nominated and elected in nonpartisan elections. An aspirant for a council seat may get his name on the primary ballot by getting a comparatively small number of signatures on his petition (not less than 250). This means that twenty or more (22 in 1959) candidates may appear on the primary ballot. The elector votes for any six of these candidates and the highest eighteen (twice the number of council seats to be filled) appear on the general election ballot. At the general election, each elector again votes for any six candidates and the nine who receive most votes are declared elected.

The candidate who receives the highest number of votes becomes the mayor, who presides over council meetings and acts as the "chief of state" for the city. Since 1953 the Democratic party has endorsed slates of candidates for the general election and a group made up of Republicans and independents, known as the Citizens' Charter Committee (CCC), has done the same, thus tending to destroy the nonpartisan feature of the elections.

On December 15, 1958, at the regular Monday evening meeting of the city council, Mayor James H. Kinsella (Democrat) presented written charges against City Manager Sharpe. The document the mayor read accused the manager of "the illegal hiring of an architect for the Pont Memorial Building in Elizabeth Park," and stated that this action "was deliberately and deceitfully concealed from the city council's attention and knowledge by the administration with full knowledge of City Manager Sharpe."

The mayor took the position that he was protecting the charter and good government in Hartford. The *Hartford Courant's* editorial two days later commented that, "in the mechanics of hiring the architect in question, Mr. Sharpe was in error." The writer also stated, however, "Mr. Sharpe has been prejudged. It is a safe bet he will be found guilty. Their (the Democratic politicians) aim is to get themselves a manager more amenable than Mr. Sharpe."

The city manager replied to these charges in writing and a full scale investigation was held involving several meetings of the council. Public hearings, which aroused a great deal of interest, were attended by large numbers of citizens. The investigation brought out the facts that there had been no willful

and deliberate concealment, deception or other wrongful motivation. The city manager had made an error in judgement in that (1) he failed to get council approval after being instructed to do so by city lawyers (he thought they misinterpreted the charter); (2) he failed to follow proper procedures in regard to the timely filing of a purchase order for the acquisition of such services. It was also clear that no one had profited by the transaction and that the city had received full value for the money spent.

The council, on January 12, 1959, by a vote of six to three, strongly censured the manager and stated that a lack of confidence existed in his ability to continue in his position. Despite this the manager did not resign and the city government continued to operate as it had before.

* * *

When election time arrived the following fall, the *Courant* editorialized on October 13, 1959: "The issue this year is identical with that in the past six elections under the charter: the preservation of nonpartisan good government as embodied in the charter." The action against the city manager was made a part of the campaign by Miss Elizabeth L. Knox, CCC-endorsed councilwoman running for reelection, who had strongly supported Mr. Sharpe during the hearings. Mayor Kinsella, also running, asked for a big vote to show popular support of his position and his ideas of strengthening the mayor's powers.

At the primary election on October 13, only Miss Knox, of the eight incumbents seeking reelection, increased her vote. She came within 838 votes of the mayor's, raising the speculation that she might surpass him in the general election. After the general election on November 3, the tabulation showed that Mayor Kinsella again won more votes than any other candidate, but his total dropped more than 3,000 from the 25,000-

plurality he had received in 1957. Miss Knox's vote increased 3,300 from the 11,700 she had received in 1957.

The Democratic control of the council dropped from six-three to five-four, and one of the group of five, John C. Clark, Jr., had previous CCC endorsement and has a record of independence. George J. Ritter, a former corporation counsel, ran as an independent with no endorsement or organization support of any kind and won a seat on the council, thus demonstrating that it is possible for an independent to wage a successful city-wide campaign in this city of 185,600 people.

The day after the election a *Courant* editorial commented: "The cause of good government won remarkable support yesterday from Hartford's voters. This must mean that the voters, alerted to the drive to return to old-fashioned politics by last winter's attempt to drum City Manager Sharpe out of town, took note of the danger and expressed their concern in their vote."

Another indication of voter support for the city manager and what he stands for was the defeat of a referendum on a \$4 million bond issue to construct a recreation center and field house. The city council had voted for it, the Democratic council candidates were for it, veterans groups supported it, as did several other interest groups.

The city manager opposed the issue on the grounds that the construction of the center was poorly timed in relation to plans for all downtown Hartford and that there was neither a good plan nor a guarantee that \$4 million would be enough money to do the job right. The vote was close, but the surprising thing is that it was defeated at all. The referendum lost by 566 votes, 12,936 to 12,370.

The results of this election demonstrate that when the citizens of Hartford had access to the facts they were not swept off their feet by demagogic appeals to partisanship nor were they bemused by efforts of interest groups in favor of a

sports coliseum. The results also show that vigorous and intelligent leadership by at least a few forceful public-spirited citizens is necessary to maintain a non-partisan city government.

It looks as though the council-manager plan will stay in Hartford for the foreseeable future.

JAMES R. BROWN

St. Joseph College
West Hartford, Connecticut

City Clubs Render Service to Cities

In an address before the Portland (Oregon) City Club, titled "The City Club and the City," Dr. Edward O. Sisson, former professor of philosophy at Reed College, had this to say:

"It is conceivable that the City Club may render momentous service to the whole city—and indeed far beyond the bounds of the city itself. That the club does even now render great and indispensable service to the whole city is, I believe, the firm conviction of its members; and happily, of many of our fellow-citizens who are not members.

"What does the City Club do? . . . the City Club thinks for the city. The club is a sort of brain for the body politic.

"When we say that the City Club thinks for the city, the phrase has two senses: that the club volunteers to do a certain indispensable task as the servant or agent of the city, and that the club will work faithfully for the good of the city. These two things are both integral to the job, and they are also integral to each other: only by keeping both in its eye can the club fulfill its role at all.

"The function of the City Club is to generate intelligence and good will, or to provide intelligence in the spirit of good will. In the words of the charter, its purpose is 'to inform its

members and the community in public matters and to arouse them to a realization of the obligations of citizenship.' . . .

"I have long said that the City Club is the greatest embodiment I know of working democracy. Democracy is the ambitious, idealistic, but intensely intelligent aspiration to govern by intelligence, good will, investigation, discussion, agreement, and united action. Beyond question, democracy has its back to the wall, even where it still has a fighting chance. How can one doubt that the promotion of intelligence and good will, as carried on by the City Club, may play a vital role in the tremendous struggle to conserve the essence of the American ideal? Only, to achieve this end, the club must rise to new heights in faithfulness to its own rigorous aims."

* * *

The City Club of New York, in its *City Club Comments*, has published the testimony of I. D. Robbins, its president, before the New York State Commission on Governmental Operations of the City of New York. In his remarks, Mr. Robbins commented:

"Previous commissions, appointed with great fanfare, suffered from certain diseases. The first disease is 'administratitus.' This is a fixation that any governmental problem can be solved by making a paper plan for a perfect administrative solution.

"The second disease we call 'naivititis,' characterized by the inability to believe that anything is really wrong or that public officials could possibly engage in improper conduct.

"The third disease, known as 'negativitis,' is lack of conviction that the job of improving the city and its administration can be done.

"People who love our city and want to see it improved must have none of these diseases."

Some of the points which Mr. Robbins

discussed were cost of poverty, quality of personnel, charter revision, revenue from real estate, state aid for education, slums, "authorities" and performance budgeting.

Supports Manager Plan

The Municipal League of Spokane, Washington, after an eight-to-ten-year study of the various forms of city government, has gone on record as favoring the council-manager plan for Spokane. It has assisted in the circulation of petitions to bring the question to a vote. In its studies the league surveyed cities in Spokane's population class as to their form of government and its successful operation.

Citizens in Action

Dedicated to improving its city, the Norwalk (Connecticut) Citizens Action Committee is an independent non-political and nonpartisan organization. It has five project committees whose aims are to expedite redevelopment, obtain improved building, secure housing codes with suitable operating machinery, development of the waterfront as a valuable city resource, and reduction of both accidents and congestion. There are also six reporting committees studying city finance; utilities; education; health, welfare and recreation; planning and zoning; and charter revision.

The committee is made up of 60 members who represent a cross-section of civic-minded residents.

National Committee Fellows

The Citizenship Clearing House has selected its national committee fellows for 1960. They are Professor Daniel M. Ogden, Jr., of Washington State University and Professor Arthur L. Peterson of Wisconsin State College. Dr.

Ogden will serve as special consultant to the Democratic national chairman and Professor Peterson will hold the same position with the Republican national chairman.

This is the third year of the national committee fellowships, a program which is designed "to broaden the knowledge of, and provide observational experience for, teachers of politics at the national party level and to make available to the national committees the assistance of professional political scientists."

Citizens Elect Candidates

Phoenix voters in a primary contest on November 10 elected six councilmen and a mayor sponsored by the Charter Government Committee, a municipal party which since 1949 has successfully supported effective council-manager government in that city. Since all charter candidates received a majority of the votes cast in the primary, no run-off election was necessary.

Annual Meeting

The Citizens Plan "E" Association of Worcester, Massachusetts, held its annual meeting on January 14. In addition to election of the board of trustees and the president's address, an open public forum was held on "What Lies Ahead for Worcester?" Participants were City Manager Francis J. McGrath, Raymond P. Harold of the Redevelopment Authority, Joseph W. Carney of the Board of Assessors, and Robert A. Gordon, acting planning director.

In his address, Thomas S. Green, retiring president, commented: "The CEA has been a leading force in organized efforts to keep our city government on the track and moving forward. . . . Good government is the product of work not wish."

Takes Long Look at Legislative Councils

Siffin Finds They Vary With Political Climate

JUST as one cannot intelligently discuss "the states" as though they were similar and comparable political entities, American legislative councils and related agencies should not be lumped together. In *The Legislative Council in the American States* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1959, 280 pages, \$3.00), William J. Siffin considers historical changes in the legislative process which marked a need for councils in the early 20th century, the initiation and use of legislative reference bureaus, the events leading to the creation of councils, the movement for the first successful legislative council in Kansas, and the spread of councils throughout the country with special attention given to those in Illinois and Kentucky.

Siffin notes that three distinctly different types of organizations, each labelled a legislative council or council-type agency, are found in Kansas, Illinois and Kentucky. "The Kansas council is a legislative program-planning body; the Illinois council is essentially concerned with research and reference; the Kentucky Legislative Research Commission is a research and policy-planning adjunct of the governor's office and, to some extent, a means of linking the chief legislator with the General Assembly."

The diversity of state politics has clearly affected the legislative council movement. Within the shifting spectrum of the states are now found legislative program staffs as well as other types of organizations commonly regarded as, and sometimes titled, legislative councils. But quite a few of these are not councils.

The essence of such a group "is not research but the synthesis of technical studies and political judgments in legislative policy proposals."

An essential difference exists between legislative research organizations and legislative councils. "There are no 'non-recommending councils.' The difference between legislative research and legislative program planning is more than a matter of degree. An effective program planning council represents a significant modification of the legislative process; an effective research organization more nearly seeks to strengthen the traditional pattern."

The distinction between councils and research organizations furnishes clues to environmental requisites of a program-planning council. A review of American experience suggests conditions which make it impossible for a legislative council to operate: (1) Deep and persistent political cleavage within the legislature does not seem to allow the delicate synthesizing process of the council. (2) Prospects for a successful council appear inversely related to the power of the governor as legislative leader. With strong executive leadership a council is likely to succumb to opposition or to be pulled into the executive orbit. (3) Political support from outside the legislature as well as within it is required for establishing a council. For the council to survive it must be free from persistent political attack.

True program councils are active in about twenty states, representing the "highest form of policy staff organization which has emerged among the American state legislatures. The extent to which they fulfill their aims admittedly varies but at their best they contribute a great amount of systematic planning and cohesive policy leadership. The politically neat, homogeneous and weak-governed

states within which they can operate are a minority and possibly a shrinking one at that.

"One cannot argue wisely and well that the continued spread of legislative councils is either likely or essential to the effective functioning of the states. The policy-administration dichotomy which would furnish the ideal milieu of the most fully developed legislative council was recognized and rejected, more than a decade before the first council was created, in favor of a more prevalent reality—the political leadership of the chief executive and the continuing struggle and balancing of forces within internally leaderless legislatures."

Siffin concludes his study by observing the place of the states in the ever changing system of government and some dimensions of the true problem facing the states, which is not national centralization but the constantly expanding scope of government activity. Legislative councils are valuable as one means of attacking the complex situation, but policy staffs are not "the elixir in which the basic problems of our fair states will be dissolved."

Connecticut Employee Benefits Listed

There is no agreement in government or industry as to the proper scope of employee benefits, Rosaline Levenson observes in *Employee Benefits in Connecticut Public and Private Employment . . . A Comparison* (Institute of Public Service, University of Connecticut, Storrs, 1959, 88 pages, \$1.00). A standard model employee benefit program to guide the employer does not exist and, like wages, the number of benefits keeps spiraling upward. "Benefits once granted tend to become a right to the employee, and because most benefits other than direct monetary payments are non-taxable, benefit programs may be expected to increase faster in the future than wages themselves."

Employee benefits generally are any remuneration extended over and above salary. They may be direct monetary grants such as bonuses or profit-sharing, or they may be indirect payments, as paid sick leave, uniform allowances, pensions or health services.

This study enumerates the benefits currently offered by Connecticut local governments and private industries. It is a companion publication to *Municipal Employee Benefits in Connecticut* published in October, 1959.¹

Reports on Boston

Two more economic base reports, Numbers 3 and 4, have been released by the Greater Boston Economic Study Committee.² Everett J. Burt, Jr., is the author of the third, *Recent Changes in the Employment Structure of Greater Boston* (1959, 27 pages).

The fourth report, *The Population of the Cities and Towns of Greater Boston Projected to 1970* (1959, 20 pages), prepared by the staff, projects that: The population of Boston and eleven core cities will decline slightly; 40 cities and towns around the core will absorb almost 60 per cent of the increase expected by 1970; and growth will continue mainly along the radial transportation routes from the core area.

Consider Annexation

Last fall, William H. Holdford and Warren Jake Wicker conducted a special study of the financial implications of Carrboro's annexing surrounding areas. *Annexation Feasibility—Carrboro, North Carolina* (Institute of Government, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1959, 38 pages, \$1.00) contains their recommendations.

¹ See the REVIEW, January 1960, page 51.

² For a report on Numbers 1 and 2, see the REVIEW, September 1959, page 440.

Providing Open Space

Shirley Adelson Siegel, now assistant attorney general of the state of New York, is author of *The Law of Open Space: Legal Aspects of Acquiring or Otherwise Preserving Open Space in the Tri-State New York Metropolitan Region* (Regional Plan Association, 230 West 41st Street, New York 36, 1960, 79 pages, \$3.50). The report is the first released by the Park, Recreation and Open Space Project, jointly sponsored by the Metropolitan Regional Council and the Regional Plan Association. It contains an analysis and recommendations concerning the important legal aspects of preserving open space for parks and recreation and is perhaps the first attempt to bring together in one publication many legal elements bearing upon this subject.

In *Securing Open Space for Urban America: Conservative Easements* (Urban Land Institute, 1200 18th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C., 1959, 67 pages, \$3.00), William H. Whyte, Jr., espouses the purchase of land rights by a public agency from private owners to insure the continued integrity of key open areas. Thus far this method is not well known and has yet to be applied extensively for the control of urban sprawl.

Reports Legislative Acts

The University of Hawaii's Legislative Reference Bureau released two reports in the latter months of last year. One is *A Summary of the Hawaii State Government Reorganization Act of 1959* (Honolulu, 40 pages). The concern of the second special session, this act recasts the entire executive branch except the offices of the governor and lieutenant governor into eighteen departments to meet the requirements of the state constitution.¹ The other, *Digest and Index of Laws Enacted* (19 pages), covers the laws enacted by the first

special session. These two publications complete the bureau's reporting of the legislature's first year of operations in the 50th state.

Analyze City's Future

At the request of the La Mesa city council, the Public Affairs Research Institute of the San Diego State College undertook an analysis of the future fiscal condition of the city in view of operating and capital costs expected in the next fifteen years. The results of the survey are presented in *La Mesa: A Study of Its Future* (1959, 113 pages, maps, \$3.00).

Subpoena Powers

The extent of the subpoena powers of the attorney general which are necessary and desirable is a current subject of debate in Michigan. L. J. Fein and Frederick Stackable summarize the points which have been raised for and against an extension of these powers in *The Subpoena Power of the Attorney General: A Review* (Bureau of Social and Political Research, Michigan State University, East Lansing, 1959, 29 pages).

Research Needs

Wallace S. Sayre and Frederick C. Mosher observe, in *An Agenda for Research in Public Personnel Administration* (National Planning Association, 1606 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W., Washington 9, D. C., 1959, 70 pages, \$1.50), the broad sweep of public policy and the political process involved in determining public personnel policies. They outline appropriate research topics which delve into various aspects of public personnel problems, emphasizing those which will identify and test underlying assumptions of current doctrines and practices.

Tax Comparisons

In *Washington . . . Where? A Discussion of Interstate "Tax Burden"* (Continued on page 166)

¹ See page 137, this issue.

Books in Review

State Constitutions

INDEX DIGEST OF STATE CONSTITUTIONS. By the Legislative Drafting Research Fund of Columbia University. Oceana Press, Inc., 80 Fourth Avenue, New York 3, 1959. xx, 1132 pp. \$20.

It is a pleasure to welcome this completely new edition of a work which has remained unrevised since its original appearance in 1915. Now, as then, the purpose is to provide a comparative digest of the provisions of all our state constitutions; Alaska and Hawaii happily are included. There is no attempt at interpretation or evaluation; the assemblage, analysis and comprehensible presentation of such a vast body of data is in itself a task of towering proportions.

Grateful acknowledgment is assuredly due the technical staff of the Legislative Drafting Research Fund which so ably handled this phase of the work. The far-sightedness of the several additional organizations—in particular the Brookings Institution, National Municipal League and Council of State Governments—which fostered the development of the project is also much to be commended. The Ford Foundation gave generous financial assistance.

As the title indicates, the volume is entirely in the form of an index—divided into over 400 major titles, which in turn are subdivided into innumerable subtitles. Under each is given in brief paraphrase the substance of the provisions of each state constitution which fall within the particular classification. The result in effect is a composite x-ray of the subject matter of 50 constitutional documents presented in topical alphabetical sequence.

This study will be grist to the mill of the proponents of constitutional reform. It affords little evidence that state constitutional documents are assuming the streamlined proportions, so admirably exemplified in the United States constitu-

tion, which have been advocated for decades by qualified authorities and especially by the National Municipal League through the medium of its *Model State Constitution*. There is only too much evidence that our constitutions, far from sticking to provision of a fundamental framework of government with the details of structure and administration relegated to an administrative code or to statutory enactment, are still bulging with a mass of minor matters that should have no place in basic organic law.

Comparison of the titles listed in the new edition with those of 1915 indicates the expanding range of governmental activities that have been accorded constitutional recognition—deservedly or not. The new entries include amongst others: advertising, airports, intergovernmental relations, interposition and nullification (a bow to the U. S. Supreme Court school desegregation decisions), metropolitan districts, natural resources, parks and recreation, social security, subversion, urban redevelopment, veterans, wildlife conservation and management, zoning and planning.

A choice example of a provision of possibly less than constitutional caliber may be found in the sole entry—from Louisiana—appearing under the new title "Holidays": "Birthday of Huey P. Long shall be and forever remain a legal holiday; legislature may establish other holidays and regulate what shall be lawful when done on holidays."

The primary appeal of the volume may well be to such specialists in constitutional matters as may be found among lawyers, legislators, legislative reference agencies and legislative draftsmen. It will have its place also among teachers and students of government, public administration and constitutional law; researchers; members of constitutional conventions and commissions; and members of civic groups or others concerned

with constitutional study or reform. There is provision for a pocket supplement, indicating that its usefulness may be maintained for some time to come. The publishers have done a superb job in keeping the dimensions of the book down to a readily manageable size.

AUDREY M. DAVIES

Institute of Public Administration

Metropolitan Areas

ANATOMY OF A METROPOLIS. The Changing Distribution of People and Jobs Within the New York Metropolitan Region. By Edgar M. Hoover and Raymond Vernon. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1959. xvi, 345 pp. \$6.00.

MADE IN NEW YORK. Case Studies in Metropolitan Manufacturing. Edited by Max Hall; studies by Roy B. Helfgott, W. Eric Gustafson and James M. Hund. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1959. xvi, 388 pp. \$6.75.

THE NEWCOMERS. Negroes and Puerto Ricans in a Changing Metropolis. By Oscar Handlin. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1959. xiii, 171 pp. \$4.00.

WAGES IN THE METROPOLIS. Their Influence on the Location of Industries in the New York Region. By Martin Segal. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960. xi, 211 pp. \$4.75.

Nearly 30 years ago then Professor Felix Frankfurter, in a lecture delivered at Yale University, commented: "Before we can consider the aptness of political ideas or the adequacy of political machinery, the relevance of past experience or the promise of new proposals, we must be fully alive to what might be called the raw material of politics—the nature and extent of the demands made upon the machinery of government and the environment in which it moves."¹ In the

intervening years the attention of students of government has been called with increasing frequency to the desirability of a better understanding of the environmental factors conditioning urban centers.

The assaying of two major environmental elements of the New York Metropolitan Region, the economic and demographic settings, was the task set for the study organized by the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration under the direction of Dr. Raymond Vernon in 1956. The study, conducted for the Regional Plan Association, was focussed on the metropolis as an organism, and the determination of the economic and demographic environment, now and in 1985, assuming that no major changes occur meantime in the policies of the present governments of the region.

The immediate products of that major undertaking are now appearing in nine individual volumes, each a complete work in itself, yet forming an integrated whole when taken altogether. Rarely has a metropolitan study resulted in a series of publications having an appeal for the layman as well as the professional. The objective of popular appeal has been admirably accomplished by Dr. Vernon and his distinguished colleagues.

The four volumes listed above have appeared thus far. Other titles to be released during the coming year include *Money Metropolis*, *Freight and the Metropolis*, *1400 Governments*, *One-Tenth of a Nation* and *Metropolis 1985*, a summary statement.

Students and governmental officials of the New York region who are seeking easier answers to the problems of optimum governmental organization, insuring a healthier economy or a more responsive system of rapid transit will probably be disappointed that the series prescribes no easy solutions to the troubles that beset the nation's most complex urban area. New York area readers will be impressed, however, with the wealth of informational and statistical detail, much of which is wholly new and

¹ *The Public and Its Government* (William E. Dodge Lectures on Citizenship, Yale University, 1930), Yale University Press, New Haven.

presented in an attractive and useful form. To the thoughtful reader directions for institutional response to environmental factors will be indicated.

Those from other urban areas in this country and abroad who wish to understand better the ecology of their urban institutions will be encouraged to study their own areas in a similar frame of reference. There is abundant evidence that the New York study has already had an impressive influence on the thinking of persons concerned with the governmental as well as the economic future of the area.

The work of Dr. Vernon and his colleagues may well be considered a landmark in the literature of metropolitan areas. Both the authors and the sponsors, the New York Regional Plan Association, as well as the officers of the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, which financed the project, can be proud of the tremendous task now well accomplished.

GEORGE H. DEMING, *Director*

Conference on Metropolitan Area Problems

Interstate Compacts

THE ADMINISTRATION OF INTERSTATE COMPACTS. By Richard H. Leach and Redding S. Sugg, Jr. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1959. vii, 256 pp. \$4.50.

The need for interstate cooperation is increasingly apparent in many fields, particularly where urban areas spread across state lines. This description of the development and operation of interstate compact agencies will be most useful as new agencies are created to meet the needs of expanding populations, orderly patterns of land use, and a host of new problems which will come with advancing technology. This book provides new insights into one of the dimensions of our system of cooperative federalism.

Additional Books And Pamphlets

(See also *Researcher's Digest* and other departments)

Adult Education

CONTINUING EDUCATION: AN EVOLVING FORM OF ADULT EDUCATION. W. K. Kellogg Foundation, Battle Creek, Michigan, 1959. 65 pp. Illus.

Budgets

1961 FEDERAL BUDGET IN BRIEF. Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President, Washington, D. C., January 1960. 52 pp. 25 cents. (Apply Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.)

Community

COMMUNITY. Nomos—Yearbook of the American Society of Political and Legal Philosophy. Edited by Carl J. Friedrich. The Liberal Arts Press, 153 W. 72nd Street, New York, 1959. viii, 293 pp. \$5.00.

Congress

THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD: FACT OR FICTION OF THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS. By Howard N. Mantel (Reprint). *The Western Political Quarterly*, Institute of Government, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, December 1959. 14 pp.

Constitutions

THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION. By C. Herman Pritchett. McGraw-Hill Book Company, 330 West 42nd Street, New York, 1959. xiv, 719 pp. \$10.75.

Land Use

MUTUAL PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPERS, PLANNERS AND GOVERNMENTS. By Angus McClaskey. *Urban Land*, Urban Land Institute, 1200 18th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C., December 1959. 5 pp. \$1.00.

Metropolitan Areas

ECONOMIC SURVEY OF METROPOLITAN MIAMI. Dade County Development Department, 345 Northeast 2nd Avenue, Miami 32, Florida. 361 pp. Illus.

GROWTH PATTERN: THE DYNAMIC LOS ANGELES METROPOLITAN AREA. By Robert R. Dockson. Union Bank, Los Angeles, California, 1958. 31 pp. Illus.

METROPOLITAN HEART BEAT and CITIES FIGHT BACK. Two Series of Public Service Articles Published by *The Dayton (Ohio) Daily News*, January 19 through March 9, 1958. By Chuck Glover. *The Daily News*, Dayton, 1959. 38 pp.

Payrolls

PROBLEMS OF PAYROLL PREPARATION COSTS. Citizens Budget Commission, 51 East 42nd Street, New York 17, July 1959. 18 pp.

Planning

ADOPTED GENERAL PLANS FOR THE URBAN AREAS: STANISLAUS URBAN REGION. Stanislaus Cities-County Advance Planning Committee, P. O. Box 1957, Modesto, California, August 1959. 39 pp. Illus.

COMMUNITY PLANNING IN ILLINOIS. Bureau of Community Planning, University of Illinois, Urbana, 1959. 26 pp. Illus.

Police and Fire Integration

INTEGRATION OF FIRE AND POLICE SERVICES. By Virgil C. Knowles. *Ohio Cities and Villages*, Ohio Municipal League, 60 East Broad Street, Columbus 15, January 1960. 8 pp.

Salaries

MUNICIPAL SALARIES IN ALASKA. A Survey Based on August 1959 Payrolls. *Information Bulletin*, League of Alaskan Cities, Box 1764, Palmer, Alaska, December 1959. 17 pp.

SALARIES AND WAGES IN PENNSYLVANIA BOROUGHES. By William B. Harral. Pennsylvania State Association of Boroughs, 506 State Street, Harrisburg, December 1959. 23 pp. \$1.00.

Seaports

PLANNING REVIEW REPORT OF THE MIAMI SEAPORT LOCATION. Metropolitan Dade County Planning Department, Miami, Florida, July 1959. 80 pp.

State Government

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR OBTAINING ECONOMY AND EFFICIENCY IN CALIFORNIA STATE GOVERNMENT. A Report of the Assembly Interim Committee on Government Organization to the California Legislature. Assembly of the State of California, Sacramento, December 31, 1958. 79 pp.

THIS IS YOUR MASSACHUSETTS GOVERNMENT. A Description of the Structure and Functions of the State and Local Governments of the People of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. (Second Edition.) By Elwyn E. Mariner. Mariner Books, Box 22, Arlington Heights 75, Massachusetts, 1959. 176 pp. Paperbound, \$2.50; cloth, \$3.50.

Taxation and Finance

THE FEDERAL INDIVIDUAL INCOME TAX: REVISING THE RATE AND BRACKET STRUCTURE. Tax Foundation, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, November 1959. 32 pp.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY (Maryland) REVENUE SURVEY. REPORT OF THE FINANCIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR THE MONTGOMERY COUNTY COUNCIL, January 1960. The County, Silver Springs, Maryland. 65 pp.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY (Pennsylvania) FINANCIAL ANALYSIS 1956-1959. Montgomery County Branch, Bureau of Municipal Research and Pennsylvania Economy League (Eastern Division),

414 DeKalb Street, Norristown, Pennsylvania, June 1959. 61 pp. \$1.00.

TAXES. Questions and Answers on State and Federal Taxes Levied in Wisconsin. (1960 Edition) Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, Madison 3, December 1959. 64 pp. 50 cents.

20 STEPS TOWARD FISCAL SANITY. Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, 11 Beacon Street, Boston 8, 1959. 12 pp.

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN EXEMPTIONS END: RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT IN PUERTO RICO. By Milton C. Taylor. *Tax Policy*, Tax Institute, 457 Nassau Street, Princeton, New Jersey, November-December 1959. 12 pp. 50 cents.

Urban Development and Renewal

CAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT HANDLE URBAN GROWTH? (Reprint.) By Richard W. Cutler. *Wisconsin Law Review*, University of Wisconsin Law School, Madison. January 1959, 25 pp.

ORGANIZATIONS IN RENEWAL. ACTION, Inc., New York 36, 1959. 37 pp. 25 cents.

Water

DETROIT'S WATER DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM FOR THE METROPOLITAN AREA 1959. Board of Water Commissioners, City Hall, Detroit, Michigan, 1959. 49 pp. Maps.

Zoning

RURAL ZONING IN A NUTSHELL. By Louis A. Wolfanger. Cooperative Extension Service, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, November 1958. 20 pp.

REZONING NEW YORK CITY. A Guide to the Proposed Comprehensive Amend-

ment of the Zoning Resolution of the City of New York. City Planning Commission, New York City, December 1959. 52 pp. Illus. \$3.00. (Apply *The City Record*, 2213 Municipal Building, New York 7).

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST

(Continued from page 161)

Comparisons (Seattle, 1959, 24 pages), the Washington State Research Council questions the practice of ranking the states according to the relationship of state and local taxes to personal income, and considers the value of the information presented in the Census report, *State and Local Government Finances in 1957*.

Zoning Manual

Zoning Boards of Appeal, a manual prepared by the League of Wisconsin Municipalities (30 East Johnson Street, Madison 3, 1960, 59 pages, \$3.00), discusses the legal aspects of the board's nature, powers and duties and suggests proper operating procedures.

Here and There

The Texas Research League has released its 1959 annual report. Titled *A Year of Service*, it presents the league's past accomplishments, its continuing studies and future possibilities as well as a financial report and budget.

The Citizens Research Institute of Canada (Toronto) published the text of an address by Frank J. McGilly of the institute in its *Bulletin* of November 16, 1959. Mr. McGilly spoke on "The Government, The Civil Service and the Taxpayer" before the annual convention of the Civil Servants' Association of Ontario.



Top: Mayor P. W. Day of Alton, Illinois, presents All-America City flag to Explorer Scout Carl Neil Ott for raising at city hall.

Alton Telegraph photo.

Center: Bilingual billboard proclaims San Juan's All-America City victory.

San Juan Star photo.

Below: Community leaders of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, raise All-America City flag in front of city hall.

Winston-Salem Journal photo.



11 Get Second Place Honors

Honorable mention certificates in the All-America Cities contest will go to eleven runner-up cities which narrowly missed top honors in the contest for 1959. These cities and the programs which landed them among the 22 finalists are:

Abilene, Texas

Downtown face-lifting program involving \$1.6 million provided for new sidewalks, streets and storm sewers in a 42-block area.

Anadarko, Oklahoma

Accomplishments in twelve-year improvement plan included passage of a water bond issue, completion of a paving program and water conservation project.

Baldwin Park, California

Citizens worked for incorporation, then approved four new bond issues, ended double school sessions, corrected a bad flood condition, developed a master plan, added street lighting and augmented parking facilities.

Burbank, California

Leaders of civic organizations sparked many public improvements ranging from a ten-year capital budget program to a revitalization of the downtown business district.

Grants, New Mexico

Swept up in the uranium boom, townspeople, finding a breakdown of municipal services imminent, fought successfully to make their city modern, clean and efficient.

Green Forest, Arkansas

Deciding to build its own industry, this town of 1,000 had twelve new businesses within a year.

Honolulu, Hawaii

Conducted vigorous community drive to get approval from voters, legislature and governor for modern government.

Lakewood, Ohio

Community revitalization project improved homes, churches and schools and secured favorable vote on four major building bond issues.

Sioux City, Iowa

Adopted council-manager form of government and proceeded to initiate and carry out improvement programs.

Springfield, Massachusetts

Citizens, led by energetic mayor, undertook projects to attract new industry, create jobs, revitalize downtown and prepare new master plan.

Washington Terrace, Utah

Acute housing shortage prompted public housing tenants to organize a non-profit corporation, convert slum area into \$15 million debt-free invest-

All-America Awards

(Continued from page 113)

A. Earl Bryson, League Council member, of Colorado Springs;

Norfolk, Virginia, March 3, by Cecil Morgan, League past president, of New York;

San Juan, Puerto Rico, February 16, by John S. Linen, League vice president, of New York;

Santa Fe Springs, California, March 12, by Harry J. Krusz, League Council member, Long Beach, California;

Seattle, Washington, March 2, by Norris Nash, League regional vice president, of Oakland, California;

Vallejo, California, February 29, by Harold S. Shefelman, League council member, of Seattle;

Winston-Salem, North Carolina, February 25, John S. Linen, League vice president, of New York.

Latest Word On the Council-Manager Plan!

It's a pleasure to announce that two of our most popular works on the council-manager form of local government are now available in new, revised editions.

The Story of the Council-Manager Plan

27th Edition, 32 Pages, 25¢. (Contains a directory of 1,652 places where the plan is in effect.)

Manager Plan Abandonments

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WANTED

National Municipal Review for March and May 1958

An unprecedented demand has exhausted copies of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for the months listed above. The League will be glad to pay 25 cents per copy for the return of these issues.

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Tools for Achieving Better Government

Citizen groups often turn to the League for help in achieving better government in their locality. Listed below are some of the tools available to them:

Campaign Pamphlets

Story of the Council-Manager Plan, 32 pages (1959)	\$.25
Charts: Council-Manager Form, Commission Form, Mayor-Council Form (14 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 22"), 50 cents each, set of three	1.00
Forms of Municipal Government—How Have They Worked? 20 pages (1958) .....	.25
Facts About the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1959) .....	.05
Civ. Employees and the Manager Plan, 4 pages (1959) .....	.05
Comments of Labor Union Leaders in Council-Manager Cities (mimeo- graphed), 6 pages (1959) .....	.10
P. R. [Proportional Representation], 12 pages (1955) .....	.05
The Citizen Association—How to Organize and Run It, 64 pages (1958)	1.00
The Citizen Association—How to Win Civic Campaigns, 64 pages (1958)	1.00
(The two pamphlets above may be purchased together for \$1.50)	

Model Laws

Model Accrual Budget Law, 40 pages (1946) .....	.75
Model Cash Basis Budget Law, 42 pages (1948) .....	.75
Model City Charter, 172 pages (1941)	1.50
Model County and Municipal Bond Law, 54 pages (1953)	1.00
Model County Charter, 109 pages (1956)	1.50
Model Direct Primary Election System, 46 pages (1951)	1.00
Model Investment of State Funds Law, 38 pages (1954)	1.00
Model Municipal Revenue Bond Law, 31 pages (1958)	1.00
Model Real Property Tax Collection Law, 60 pages (1954)	1.00
Model State and Regional Planning Law, 73 pages (1955)	1.00
Model State Civil Service Law, 32 pages (1953) .....	.75
Model State Constitution, 63 pages (1948)	1.00
Model State Medico-legal Investigative System, 40 pages (1954) .....	.50
Model Voter Registration System, 56 pages (1957)	1.00

Other Pamphlets and Books

American County—Patchwork of Boards, 24 pages (1946) .....	.35
Best Practice Under the Manager Plan, 8 pages (1957) .....	.15
Civic Victories, by Richard S. Childs, 367 pages (1952)	3.50
Coroners—A Symposium of Legal Bases and Actual Practices, 102 pages mimeographed (1959)	2.00
Digest of County Manager Charters and Laws, 82 pages (1958)	2.00
Compilation of the 48 Direct Primary Systems, 55 pages (1958)	2.00
Guide for Charter Commissions, 44 pages (1957)	1.00
Guide to Community Action, by Mark S. Matthews, 447 pages (1954)	4.00
Manager Plan Abandonments, by Arthur W. Bromage, 40 pages (1959) .....	.50
New Era, New Thinking—Transition to Metropolitan Living, by Luther Gulick (Reprinted from NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW) 8 pages (1959) .....	.15
New Look at Home Rule, by Benjamin Baker etc. (reprinted from NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW), 32 pages (1955) .....	.50
Proportional Representation—Illustrative Election, 8 pages (1951) .....	.10
Proportional Representation—Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett, Jr., 177 pages (1940)25

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